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THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

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Bibliography

David Bolan



N.E.F.

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 Canberra . Mr. J. C. Caldwell, 40, Carrington Street, Deakin, Canberra, A.C.T.
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 Flemish Section . Dr. Maria Wens, Rooigemlaan 421, Gent.

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DENMARK . (Secretary) Mr. Sig. B. Skovborg, Jyllandsvej 29, Copenhagen F.
 (International Secretary) Mr. Torben Gregersen, Frederiksberg Allé 34, Copenhagen V.

EGYPT . Dr. Kalil Kamel, The N.E.F., 13 Tahreer Square, Cairo, U.A.R.

ENGLAND . Mr. J. B. Annand, E.N.E.F., Alturas, Rotherfield, Sussex.

FRANCE . Mme Séclet-Riou and M. Roger Gal, Groupe Français d'Education Nouvelle, Musée Pédagogique, 29 rue d'Ulm, Paris Ve.

GERMANY . Frau S. Buchwald, Berlin-Borsigwalde, Eisenhartstelg 11/13.

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INDIA . Dr. Madhuri Shah and Dr. K. C. Vyas, New Era School, Hughes Road, Bombay, 7.

ITALY . Professor Raffaele Laporta, Universeta Degli Studi di Firenze, via di Parione 7, Firenze.

JAPAN . Prof. S. Kobayashi, Keio University, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

NEW ZEALAND . Mr. G. W. Parkyn, Southern Cross Buildings, 22 Brandon Street, Wellington C.1.

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SWEDEN . (International Correspondent) Miss Ester Hermansson, Linnégatan 20, Göteborg, C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . (Secretary-Treasurer) Mrs. R. L. Wright, 274 Oakland Drive, East Lansing, Michigan.
 (Correspondent) Professor F. Redefor, New York School of Education, Washington Square, New York 3.

INTERNATIONAL OFFICE (Secretary) Mr. J. B. Annand, Alturas, Rotherfield, Sussex, England.

THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

Conflict and Peace

TEACHERS IN THEIR CLASS-ROOMS, no less than citizens in other fields, have made many efforts to reduce the nationalist and racist barriers that separate peoples. They have sought to reduce conflict by disseminating information, studying prejudice and instilling idealism. But we now see that these techniques are not enough. People travel about the world more than they have ever done. Information about other cultures is readily and increasingly available. The case for world unity becomes daily more self-obvious. We even notice a melting of exclusive nationalisms under the economic enticements of federation. Yet the world remains polarized in mutual mistrusts. The ugly weapons of modern war are eagerly sought by one nation after another as symbols of power and status. We now see that we have been working on an inadequate premise and that we must re-think the whole problem at a more fundamental level.

A fresh starting point seems plain enough. In the past we were all busy trying to 'reduce conflict', as though conflict were a kind of social and international poison for which an antidote must at all costs be found. That, we now realize, was in part a false diagnosis. Misused conflict is, of course, dangerous; but *examined conflict* can itself be the dynamic by which purposeful co-operation is engendered. Our error has been to praise creativeness while repudiating conflict, and fearing it. We begin to understand that conflict itself, recognized and examined, can be the spring of creative change.

Thus, we have come to the paradox that the source of our peace can be the right use of conflict. Man is a striving, searching creature, on the move, looking ahead, changing things, achieving things. At any moment a person, an

institution, a nation or a world may be faced with an immediate situation which demands thought and decision. The correctness of the decision made depends on a thorough understanding of the situation, and clarity about the goal or goals sought. When interpretations of the situation differ, or goals are seen to be inconsistent with one another, conflict results. By resolving such conflicts constructively, progress is achieved. Nor is this principle limited to social issues; it runs through nature. A bird's flight may be said to be the outcome of the conflict between its weight and its wing-power. We may observe these divergent forces elegantly resolved in a gliding gull.

As an illustration of the principle at a simple social level, let us suppose that Mr. A. is a bird-lover and Mr. B., his next-door neighbour, a cat-lover. Here is a conflict based on the legitimate personal interests of two people. This can either produce unremitting enmity, — with Mr. A. throwing stones at Mr. B's cats and Mr. B. letting his cats pursue the birds in Mr. A's garden, — or it can lead to the two men putting their heads together to devise a cat-proof fence to separate their gardens, or even to devise a commodious and entertaining outdoor cage where the cats may disport themselves without too much boredom during the birds' breeding season, when they are at their most vulnerable. What could have been a rift between these neighbours then becomes a bond — but, first, each has to accept the other's right to a passion that conflicts with his own, and to regard the conflict as capable of a positive solution.

All conflict involving people is of a similar nature to that tiff. However dolled up with status symbols and fine phrases, every crisis between individuals, every industrial deadlock

or world-shaking conflict, is simply a clash of purposes *capable* of positive solution if only the conflicting parties will regard conflict as the basis for co-operation and not as its antithesis.

Let us notice, further, that it is on the creative resolution of conflicts that individual happiness and satisfaction in any purposeful group largely depends. This is because conflict can be resolved effectively only by drawing on the individual contributions, in thought and feeling as well as in action, of those concerned. This is clearly true in a great variety of situations: parents struggling to come to terms with an adolescent whose goals for himself conflict with their goals for him (and for themselves!); a Teacher Training College striving to solve its locking-up problem; a building firm trying simultaneously to meet its dead-line and the demands of its workers; an international health team battling to conquer malaria in the face of local opposition to the methods they have to use. The peaceful — that is the constructive — resolution of all social conflicts requires the involvement of persons, the interplay of divergent points of view, and the discovery and acceptance of a common purpose which brings the total human endeavour to a productive focus.

It follows that education in the service of peace requires education in the social use of conflict. People familiar with the *practice* of tackling problems together will neither react to conflict with panic fear, nor seek to compensate for their sense of personal insignificance by rigidly taking sides. They will respond to the stimulus of conflict by seeking positive solutions. They will see in the very existence of conflict evidence that a positive solution is awaiting discovery. For them, conflict will never mean deadlock — the cessation of thought and feeling for the opponents' case — war! They will see it as the way to the road ahead.

Since the creative resolution of conflict can come about only through the discovery and acceptance of common purposes, conflict at international level can be solved only in terms of a common purpose for mankind. What is this to be? Again, the first steps are plain enough surely — to ensure that people are able

to feed, clothe and house themselves properly; to extend health services, education and cultural opportunities; to enable people to recognize and control the population explosion, as well as to step up food production by husbanding and expanding the resources of the world for our own and future generations; to press on with relevant research; to eliminate useless competition by sharing out tasks of production; to reverse trends towards over-crowding and over-rushing; to take fully into account each other's hopes and aspirations; to give to every nation and race its honourable part in raising the quality of human life throughout the world.

It is in terms of the achievement of these purposes for mankind that international tensions can be resolved, and never in terms of grabbing advantages, snatching at status, or attempting to score off one another. This must be understood and the basic facts must be known, not by a few specialists but by all people.

This is a task for education, as it requires a vast reappraisal of all that men have come to regard as their most noble and self-sacrificing duty — i.e. to die for their country. At present untold millions of children are leaving school unaware of mankind's proper and vital concerns at this period in history. Every year, untold thousands of curricula follow their day to day routines without any of the challenge and excitement of the present being allowed to creep in.

We have to dedicate ourselves to bringing to birth a world composed of nations that are different, and self-confident, yet *incapable* of the folly of war because they have risen above this possibility by the way they feel and think. Hence, we have to provide in each society, and at all levels, the experience of using conflict creatively. We must also make sure that the curricula we offer foster understanding about the fundamental problems challenging mankind today, and a sense of personal responsibility for their solution. These are central tasks for those who seek to secure peace. This number of *The New Era* explores the operation of creative conflict in three representative fields — education, politics and industry.

James Hemming

Creative Conflict in School

Miriam Langdon

WHAT WILL THE TITLE of this section of the current number of *The New Era* mean to each reader, I wonder? Perhaps there may be some whose first reaction will be a somewhat negative one, expressing itself in such questions as these: Isn't there enough conflict at large in the world to-day without forcing the subject on the schools? In these days of very general anxiety and insecurity, don't educationists need to be particularly on their guard, both in the home and at school, against the dangers of loading the children with unresolved adult conflicts, or of reacting in some panic fashion against the threat of atomic war? This safeguarding attitude is understandable, and it has, indeed, a positive element — one that is summed up for me in the words of Himmelfarb, the Jew, in Patrick White's novel *Riders in the Chariot*. At the moment when he is being warned of imminent personal danger, Himmelfarb replies: 'I would like to persuade you that the simple acts we have learnt to perform daily are the best protection against evil.'

Yet his story ends in a re-enactment of one of the most poignant scenes of conflict in human history. Perhaps, then, it is necessary for the teacher to look again at the subject of conflict in school, and to consider the possibilities of its creative deployment. Now the questions asked are different ones: Do the circumstances and realities of an expanding world require us to point up or emphasize particular aspects of our teaching if young people are to be equipped to meet the hazards and challenges of an unknown future? Are new skills needed? Is this solely the concern of those who teach adolescents, or is there some measure of relevance and responsibility for teachers of all age-groups?

But before we can hope to answer any of these questions, it might be as well to ask ourselves another: 'What do we understand by 'conflict'?' In his *Thesaurus*, Roget devotes two separate sections to the term, under the headings of 'disagreement' and 'contention'. In the latter, references cover a range of situations from high

words, gymkhana, bickering, set-to, fisticuffs — to Armageddon. Which image or group of images will be constellated for one reader and another?

And what common images of 'schools' exist when the very elements of communication can be so limited by experience? Those people who have taught only in situations where no conflict is ever allowed to rear its head or to receive recognition will think of schools in a different fashion from those who have experienced the deep sense of harmony — and the actuality of conflict lived through — which is an essential feature of more fundamental views of education. Both positive and negative attitudes towards schools of this or that type can be based on shallow myths of hear-say and sensational reporting, and all too few teachers have opportunities to supplement a parochial knowledge by direct or vicarious experience on a broader front. In some cases, too, only first-hand experience can build the necessary insights in any significant fashion. It is necessary to learn for oneself the price that has to be paid for freedom in schools, or the cost of providing for the education of 'maladjusted', 'backward' or 'disturbed' children in some circumstances. In other words, to intellectualize is not enough: informed imagination is also required if conflict is to be seen in its actuality, in many kinds of schools, with their respective connotations and diverse interpretations of the function of teaching itself.

It is also important to remember the differing emphasis required of education in one phase of a child's growth and another. There can be danger in too naïve a transposition of theory which is appropriate to one age-group but which no longer serves the needs of an older pupil; equally, the tendency to ignore the claims of continuity and attempt to work in isolation can impair our image of what a school should be. Indeed, I wonder, sometimes, whether some difficulties for teachers and children alike have not been induced by the loss of the old, all-age community in schools, where teachers were

able to look both forward and back in building notions of 'growth', and younger and older children could find natural ways of identifying themselves with other groups than their peers. In a community where the citizens might be five years of age or fourteen, it was sometimes easier for older members to take real responsibility, as well as to regress and join the activities of the younger, while junior and infant children could extend their own experiences by being on the fringe of older activities. In creating seemingly more homogeneous groups in schools, is it not also true that some fruitful situations may have been lost?

Their day-to-day experience makes teachers familiar with conflicting ideas about educational practice and precept. They will also be aware of individuals who bandy words about theory but make no relationship between theory and practice. Moreover, each person's understanding of the possible extent of differences of opinion and outlook will be circumscribed in some fashion, since even the most intelligent reader and sincere practitioner is limited by personal insight in both range and quality. It seems to me of immense importance that this sense of limitation should be accepted, if we are not to become enmeshed in Olympian dreams. Let us be content to remain the plain human mortals we inevitably are, remembering that all excellence is not to be found in any single individual, and that, luckily for pupils, staffs are composed of a team of individuals.

It is in the meetings of human persons, in a social context, that conflict is most readily observed. This may emerge in the ding-dong of argument, end-on clash of entrenched attitudes, or in innumerable disguised forms, hidden behind a mask of rhetoric, irony, sarcasm, flippancy and so on. Conflict always has its source in the internal world of the individual of course, and some of the most verbal as well as the most silent folk are its victims. Extreme talkativeness may cloak a fear of what silence might disclose, and seeming quietude be a form of defence in a personality where aggression of any kind is an overwhelming threat. Everyone will differ in the degree to which he is able to accept and use — or even recognize — conflict, and each person's

capacity to tolerate negative feeling may vary considerably under differing circumstances. Thus it would be unwise to imply any belief in slick modes of diagnosis, would-be authoritative judgments about others and arbitrary rules of conduct, or even punitive attitudes towards the human frailty of the self. Here it seems sufficient to suggest that any real understanding of the whole theme of conflict will inevitably be linked with the private introspective experience of each individual. It may well present a complex pattern of latent and hidden motives for anger, and an immense variety of skills in social interaction and human exchange, as well as a varying measure of 'consciousness', i.e. awareness of what the self is about.

To my way of thinking, there are many kinds of anger. Some are appropriate and, I think, an essential part of adult maturity, but all are signs of real emotion, and need to be recognized as such. Surely, at times it is necessary to register anger over exploitation of people, misrepresentation of truth or denial of any significant human value the individual seeks to honour? But the form in which such anger is to be expressed is a matter for careful scrutiny. Many of us would speak as learners still in this difficult field of experience. Some, like myself, can look back on a decade when children and adults alike found themselves living in a highly charged world where the code seemed to be, 'express yourself freely and you will feel all the better for it!' Unfortunately, not everyone in the situation reaped an equal benefit, and certainly the children exposed to this emotional climate often seemed insecure and felt adults' behaviour to be quite unpredictable. Appropriate expression of anger means disciplined expression, where raw emotion is subjected to some measure of control, so that the feeling expressed is appropriate to the persons concerned, the place or situation involved, and the time, too. It may take some a lifetime to learn the necessary disciplines in any effective fashion, while others are already far ahead in this school of life. In the process, we can also learn to recognize all forms of anger as warnings that some raw spot of feeling has been touched. If people are to meet in any real sense, they must be allowed

to use more than one dimension of the human psyche — and, at certain times, anger and conflict may be essential elements in any shared journey towards truth and feeling.

This is where some people put forward the determinist view that people must be accepted as they are and we must leave it at that, forgetting that the meeting place of conflicting ideas and feelings is also the frontier of new possibilities of learning. Yet it is also true that there can be no real exchange of any worth unless the notion of communication carries with it the will to listen, a measure of security which creates a state of being communicable-with, so to speak, and sufficient patience to explore a situation, idea, controversy, what you will, as two or more equal persons. After this come the necessary insights which inform and shape the nature of any human intercourse, such as the relative responsibilities, knowledge, understanding, emotional maturity and so on of the persons concerned. But, first, people have to be valued for what they are, not for what they achieve, contribute or 'do'. When a contrary scale of values is applied, people will be used as means to an end (which can take many subtle forms) — and anger may well be their way of rejecting this denigration of their human value. Some conflicts among adults in a school can, I think, be traced to this source.

It is not possible to generalize, of course, and the intimate life of any school can only be known from the inside: but it is disquietening to hear teachers speak of the barren life of some staffrooms, of brittle talk which never touches on any reality, and the sense of isolation which can grow up in a rejected individual. It is particularly troubling, I think, to find instances where men and women seem to be lined up on opposite sides of a barrier, where neither group seeks to communicate in any radical sense with the other, or to learn more about their complementary ways of looking at things. It would be false to oversimplify the acute nature of the human difficulties in one school and another. Perhaps some conflicts cannot find any immediate resolution, and in such cases the only creative channels which lie open may be those of waiting in a pacific spirit, safeguarding certain positive values where this can

be accomplished, and in further examination of one's own negative reactions. The roots of later, positive action may have to grow in the dark and be nourished from all manner of sources.

The climate of any individual staffroom is often reflected, I think, in the quality of the work in that school. In a situation where there is a lively exchange of ideas, honest recognition of radical disagreement and a desire to sink trivial personal issues in pursuit of a common aim, the group becomes, as it were, a symbol of safety and enrichment, and the increased vitality and confidence of the individual spills over into the life and work of the school. Teachers come to know that they cannot have one scale of values for pupils and quite another scale for the adults.

The following instance is relevant here, from a primary school classroom where a teacher found herself faced with many real difficulties and a large class. The daily cleaner might also have caused friction, as her warning comment near the beginning of term suggested: 'I don't mind anything except that old clay stuff.' To which the teacher replied, 'Oh dear, I'm afraid we shall be having that too, but we'll be very careful.' Only a few weeks later the cleaner looked around the classroom, and said: 'I like my classrooms to have interesting things in them. It looks homely in here.' Then, later still: 'All the cleaners think this room's nice. They say: "Ah, look at that, isn't it nice about the different things!" They said: "De you have clay *every* day?" And I says: "Yes I do, but it's only a little group of children, only one table and they clear it all up."'

The teacher's rueful comment on the children's slow learning to accept responsibility for their own clearing up was kept to herself, and I suspect that neither of the speakers in this dialogue was aware at the time of all the steps by which the change of attitude had taken place and conflict been by-passed.

This theme of conflict belongs to the whole life-story of the years from birth onwards. Indeed, the genetic picture may well be essential in disentangling the sources of some conflicts, as Flügel's work on the origin of prejudice illustrates in one field. Underlying

ENGLISH NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP SPRING CONFERENCE

26th APRIL — 1st MAY, 1962

EASTBOURNE TRAINING COLLEGE, SUSSEX

THEME:

EDUCATION 13 to 16 - WHAT TO DO?

HOW THREE SCHOOLS ARE TACKLING THE PROBLEMS OF MAKING
EDUCATION MEANINGFUL, PURPOSEFUL AND SATISFYING.

The conference will provide an opportunity to evaluate practical programmes, the role of members being to challenge the speakers, to criticise their ideas and practices, and to supplement the discussions from their own experience.

Conference Chairman: Miss A. E. Adams, General Inspector of Education, Surrey County Council.

Speakers: Mr. G. C. Johnson, T.D., Sociologist; Warden of Wicken House, Newport, Essex,
will give the opening address: *The Missing Quality*.
Miss Grace Eldridge, Headmistress, New Parks Secondary School for Girls,
Leicester.
Mr. J. G. Dent, Headmaster, Fulwood County Secondary School, Preston.
Mr. H. Raymond King, Headmaster, Wandsworth Comprehensive School.

Miss Eldridge, Mr. Dent and Mr. King will each bring two members of Staff to join in the discussions, as well as material to illustrate what happens in school.

Information from Mr. J. B. Annand, Secretary, E.N.E.F., Alturas, Rotherfield, Sussex.

the work of any good nursery or infant school is an assumption that social and emotional development are indispensable aspects of human development. There is also recognition and acceptance of the natural egoism of the young child, and his extreme dependence on the teacher as a parent substitute, and an essential point of security in the poignant days of transition from home to school.

Teachers of these younger children need a sound basis of knowledge if they are to understand the social conflicts which are an inevitable part of life in the younger age-groups, since it is only through the actual substance of learning to live and work together that children begin to emerge from egocentricity, and to interact in more social ways. What appears to the observer as a busy, absorbed, occasionally turbulent spectacle of play is, in fact, a small world designed quite specifically to promote many facets of learning, but in ways that young children can use and build on in cumulative patterns of experience. Not every adult can be trained to work in such an environment. A

range of human skills is required if a teacher is to withstand the pressures and primitive intensities of emotional claims with a measure of self-awareness and maturity; to remain uninvolved in the midst of conflict, while safeguarding the needs of each individual concerned; or to share with parents in the mutual partnership of home and school, yet still to recognize the unique nature of parental concern, and the paramount importance of education in the home. Teachers in these schools, as in others, find there are many aspects of their work and individual achievement which present continuing problems; and wise handling of conflict and aggression are recurring themes in discussions among themselves.

Now let a teacher of ten to eleven years-olds describe how these children develop in their capacity to understand each other — a subject still very close to our central theme of conflict, particularly in these formative and expanding years of childhood. It is interesting to note three general points about the class we are now concerned with: it comprised a large mixed

group of 'unstreamed' pupils who had known each other, in most cases, over a period of nearly six years; the teacher had established a system of work which made no use of competitive marks; and close association and constant contacts with the parents had fostered much fruitful exchange between home and school.

By the time they reach the top class the children know one another intimately, and they recognize each others' unique worth and accept one another's limitations. Jean (as we shall call her) has been an unhappy child and made life more difficult for herself by feeling slights and hurts where none were intended. Approaching adolescence, she has become moody, frequently being sullen in the mornings and at odds with everyone. The other children accept her moods as being part of Jean and treat her in just the same way as usual, so that moodiness soon passes.

Tom and Clarence are slow learners, but they win recognition by their craftsmanship and drawing ability, especially in a piece of group work, and because the others know of their dependability in anything they undertake. There is a gap between Jim and his contemporaries as far as intellectual achievement is concerned, but the children understand this and value his readiness to make and share a joke, quite often against himself. When I took over the class, the children realized that Jim had joined during the time since I had taught them two years previously. He came to me quietly to explain that he found the work hard and usually had special work of his own. This was not done in a disparaging way — it was a matter-of-fact explaining of Jim's need.

Asked to help as prefects, the children requested many informal discussions at first, talking out how they could help the younger children to remember certain rules of the school without acting like policemen. Their comments were frank and to the point. Tony complained, 'But they cheek me.' 'Well', said Ann, 'you bossed them about', and Michael joined in, 'You shouldn't try to order them around, they don't like it.' Mary remarked,

'We've found it's much better if we walk in the line with everyone else instead of standing out, watching. We can still see who needs reminding.'

There is something in all this that I am unable to put into words: The intangible immeasurable part of education which makes the growth of understanding possible; an environment where derogatory labels are not given, where disabilities are acknowledged and help given to overcome them, where tolerance is positive, arising from understanding, not negative through indifference. The growth takes place slowly, shaped by the climate of the classroom.

Those teachers in the primary field who seek to offer young children a full life in school would emphasize the necessity of providing opportunities in the arts, where individuals, separately or in groups, can be free to express their highly personal reactions to the impact of their experience. Such teachers would stress, too, the importance of shared experience and of a community life where everyone 'belongs' and each individual, in his own time, makes a beginning in learning the duties and values of a civilized society. In their own time, (and under favourable circumstances) such schools build a stable tradition, and can establish their own modes of caring for the 'problem children' in their midst, as well as finding channels for group rituals and celebrations — and even for conflict, since no community life can ever remain static or become complacent where young children are concerned! Each school presents a very different picture, and there can be great variety of achievement.

But many factors work against the degree of consolidation and sense of 'history' in one situation and another, so that under more vulnerable conditions teachers, faced with extreme frustration, are driven to seek some less comprehensive but still positive aims, if internalised conflict is not to render them bitter. No real growth takes place overnight, nor in circumstances where both the needs of individuals, whether adults or children, and the stability and life-cycle of a group receive too little attention. I do not believe myself that primary schools can ever evoke or use the full

potentiality of their pupils unless more direct measures are taken to safeguard all the human factors involved in the formation of 'educative groups'.

Ideally, the years before should lay the foundations for adolescence in a quite positive sense, and the education of older boys and girls in secondary schools will necessarily be influenced by the work which has already been achieved. Now there still remain those years of vital importance before 'school leavers' pass out to the world of work, to continue a process of slow growth to maturity, or to remain imprisoned in some part of childhood and youth which has never been fulfilled. I must leave those whose concern is with older pupils to fill in this part of the story.

Certain it is that the adult life which awaits all children will present its scenes of conflict. Everyone must find the solutions which are appropriate to his or her own temperament, background and education — and to each particular field of work. In some cases the solutions will imply no grandiose or complicated system of ideas. One may need to look no further than at some instance of creative resolution in the humdrum life of each school or classroom. This is only one step removed from the domestic life of the home, and both are linked inseparably. I would like to end this article by quoting an example on this level from the life of a sensitive woman writer who knew a great deal about conflict.

In one of her letters*, Jane Welsh Carlyle refers to what she calls 'the meaning of the Present': 'So many talents are wasted', she says

* Jane Welsh Carlyle. *A New Selection of Her Letters* arranged by Trudy Bliss. Gollancz 1949.

'so many enthusiasms turned to smoke, so many lives blighted for want of a little patience and endurance... for want of recognizing that it is not the greatness or littleness of the duty nearest at hand, but the spirit in which one does it that makes its doing noble or mean.'

She goes on to describe the occasion that first brought this realization home to her. It was in the early days of her married life with Carlyle, when they were living in a remote estate in Scotland. They were poor, they had no servants, and the nearest shop was sixteen miles away. Jane, who had led a very sheltered life and knew more about Latin and Mathematics than domestic science, bought a copy of Cobbett's *Cottage Economy* and taught herself to bake a loaf of bread. But, owing to her ignorance of the processes of fermentation and oven heat, it was late at night when the actual baking started. At three o'clock in the morning Jane was still sitting up, tired out and full of indignation that she who 'had never been required to do anything but cultivate my mind, should have to pass all these hours of the night watching a loaf of bread!', which mightn't turn out bread after all!

It was then that she remembered the story of Benvenuto Cellini's sitting up all night to watch the firing of his statue of Perseus in the oven, and she said to herself, 'The man's determined will, his energy, his patience, his resource, were the really admirable things, of which the statue of Perseus was the mere chance expression. If he (Cellini) had been a woman living at Craigenputtock, sixteen miles from a baker, and he a bad one, all these same qualities could have come out most fitting in a loaf of bread!'

Creative Conflict in Politics

By Gene Sharp, St. Catherine's Society, Oxford

IN FACING THE PROBLEM of conflict today in national and international politics, we are confronted by an apparent dilemma. Both the waging and the failure to wage such conflict may lead to disastrous consequences.

Look at a few of the symbols of modern political conflict: Spain, Algeria, Hungary,

Angola, Belsen, Dresden, Hiroshima. These symbols point both to the severe dangers of modern methods of political struggle and to the urgent need for effective means of conducting political conflicts.

In many such cases, real issues are at stake, and the outcome of such struggles will help to

determine what kind of a future, if any, humanity will have. They are issues on which a struggle is worth while. The dilemma enters when both submission and struggle lead to tragedy.

How, then, can one speak seriously of 'creative conflict in politics'?

This one certainly cannot do if one argues for the total adequacy of the traditional answers to the problem of political conflict. Many of these are nobly motivated. Many are highly useful within particular types of situations. Many have made useful contributions in the past and still have a role to play in the future. But the fact must be faced that these means of dealing with political conflicts, do not contain a sufficient answer to the problem now facing us.

INSUFFICIENT ANSWERS

Let us consider a few of these briefly. The admitted merits of some of them are too well known to require repetition here. We are concerned with the reasons why, such merits accepted, these are in present conditions insufficient.

1. *Removal of causes:* While in the long run this will help, we are left with present conflicts and future ones which develop despite such efforts. Further, where real issues are at stake, knowledge of the origin of the conflict does not remove it, nor does such knowledge prevent resort to means of struggle which are themselves tragic.

2. *Increased understanding of the opponent:* This is an important contribution, but is no self-evident solution to our problem. Understanding may not remove the issues at stake, nor does it affect the power relationships. In some cases, fuller understanding of the opponent's ideology and intentions may even heighten the conflict.

3. *Compromise:* This is very useful in many types of situations where no serious matter of principle or question concerning the basic direction or purpose of the society is at stake. Where, however, such matters are involved, there exist issues on which compromise is both morally and politically dangerous. In such

cases, some form of violent conflict has usually been the means of last resort.

4. *Negotiation, conciliation, arbitration:* These are important aspects of the resolution of many conflicts. These methods often involve compromise, and its strengths and weaknesses therefore apply here as well. In addition, there is the question of what means of struggle or sanction is held in the background of such procedures to which resort may be had if acceptable results are not thus achieved.

5. *Democratic institutions:* While acknowledging their contribution, they are not totally adequate, for (a) they do not exist everywhere; (b) nominally democratic countries have practised undemocratic and inhuman deeds; (c) the internal power structure of such a society may impose a *de facto* limitation on a democratic government's responsiveness to popular control; and (d) there is no established means in a parliamentary system to deal with extensive internal subversion, guerilla warfare, violent rebellion, *coup d'état* and military invasion, without resort to violent conflict.

6. *World government:* While not denying the value of international agencies and institutions, to suggest that the major solution to the present problem of international, or even intra-national, conflict lies here is to ignore: (a) the small likelihood of such a super-State being established as long as major international conflicts and the power struggle continue; (b) the dangers to freedom involved in concentrating sufficient power in a world political unit to be able to suppress conflicts throughout the world; and (c) the absence of a peaceful method of dealing with a 'world civil war' under such a system.

7. *Violent revolution:* In conflicts with oppressors, the traditional method of last resort has been violent revolution. Apart from the question of its long-term results, this response suffers from two limitations: (a) the chances of victory are now reduced in proportion to the degree that the revolutionaries depend for success upon military means and to the degree that the opponent is a modern State in whose hands superior military resources are concentrated; and (b) the possibility of foreign military aid to counter this situation is reduced

by the present risks of the spread of war, especially where a protagonist in the world power struggle is involved.

8. *War*: Whatever may have been the case previously, war can no longer be used as a rational means of conducting or resolving conflicts. Even the theory of deterrence involves severe dangers, and is *at best*, taking claims for granted, a means of gaining time for the intervention of other means.

9. *Avoidance of provocation*. The plea that the sole cause of external military threats lies in provocative military preparations, ignores other causes of aggressive military action and instances of it where no provocation existed.

10. *Apathy and impotence*: As problems appear vast, and the chances of the individual being able to do anything effective about them appear small, the attitude spreads that there is no use in even trying. This contributes to increasing apathy toward major issues and conflicts, assisting the development of increasingly subtle means of social control, ending perhaps in some new form of tyranny.

ALTERNATIVE TO SUBMISSION

One reason why some of these responses to conflict are not sufficient and others are undesirable is that they do not fulfill the same function as that fulfilled by various forms of violent conflict. In the past, if no acceptable settlement of a conflict was forthcoming by negotiation, etc., one always had an alternative to passive submission to the opponent's claims. One could resort to violence as an ultimate sanction, as a means of struggle, in the hope of later achieving an acceptable settlement.

Many of the results of such violence were undesirable. Morally, it left a bad taste with many people. In many wars, for example, no humanitarian issue or question of principle was really at stake and they could, without any loss to humanity, never have been fought.

But where significant issues of principle have been at stake, violent conflict has relieved people of a sense of impotence, and provided a means — however unsatisfactory — by which they could struggle for their convictions and objectives. Violence has in such cases seemed

justifiable to most people. Passivity and acquiescence when 'talking' had failed was unacceptable to them, both morally and politically.

Yet none of the other listed means of dealing with conflicts offers a substitute means of action to fulfill the same function. This is undoubtedly one of the most important reasons why so many people have reluctantly accepted the continued need for various forms of violent conflict.

If the apparent trend towards authoritarianism and totalitarianism in many countries and under several political systems is not effectively challenged and reversed, an extension of autocratic social and political organization is likely.

With the developments in military power and modern weapons, the ultimate means of action — violent conflict — has in such crises, for reasonable men, been removed at a point of great need for effective means of struggle. We are thus faced with an apparent dilemma: there is grave danger in the failure to conduct such conflicts; however, there is even greater danger in conducting them by the accepted methods. People unwilling to submit may nevertheless resort to violent revolution or war. Or, knowing no way out, people may slide increasingly into apathy and escapism.

An important problem thus remains without an answer: how to conduct such conflicts without producing disaster by the methods used. Where the basic issues admit no compromise, what ultimate sanction can be relied upon, which is at least as effective as other possible means, but does not in its consequences destroy the principles and humanity on whose behalf the struggle was launched?

A CREATIVE TECHNIQUE OF STRUGGLE

Are there creative means of struggle and sanctions which can be applied where we have previously relied upon violence? Are there means of struggle which deal effectively with the conflict and also contribute to the growth of a more humane social order?

Our answer to the tragedy of modern political conflict must accept conflict as an inevitable

part of human society. To the degree that our answer provides a creative means of facing, conducting and resolving such conflicts, it may help the society to develop greater inner consistency and integration.

We need a technique of conducting conflicts which is effective and capable of coping with the reality of power, while dealing with the situation creatively and contributing to the development of social relationships and a social order compatible with humanitarian ideals.

There has been some experience with a technique which appears to have a sufficient degree of such qualities to merit further investigation. Let us, therefore, sketch very briefly the events in several cases where it has been applied.

NORWAY: During the Nazi occupation of Norway, when Quisling set out to establish the Corporate State on Mussolini's model, he selected the teachers as the first 'corporation'. In creating the new teachers' organization, he declared all teachers were automatically members, and appointed the head of the *Hird* (the Norwegian Gestapo) as Leader. At the same time, he created a compulsory fascist youth movement.

The underground called on the teachers to resist by writing to Quisling's Education Department, stating they could not assist in promoting fascist education of the children nor regard themselves members of the new teachers' organization.

Between 8,000 and 10,000 of the country's 12,000 teachers wrote such letters, each signing their names and addresses to the prescribed wording.

After threatening dismissal, the Government closed all schools for a month. The teachers then held classes in private homes. Despite censorship, news of the resistance spread. Tens of thousands of letters of protest poured into the Government office from parents.

After the deadline for compliance had passed, about 1,000 teachers were arrested and sent to concentration camps. As their cattle truck passed through, children sang at the railway stations.

In the camps, the Gestapo imposed an atmosphere of terror. On starvation rations, the

teachers were put through 'torture gymnastics' in deep snow. Only a very few gave in. When the spirit of resistance remained unaffected, the 'treatment' continued.

When the schools were re-opened, the remaining teachers told their pupils they repudiated membership in the new organization and spoke of a duty to conscience.

Rumours were spread that if the teachers at their jobs did not give in, some or all of those arrested would meet death in one way or another. After difficult inner wrestling, the other teachers stood firm.

Then, by cattle truck trains and overcrowded steamers, the arrested teachers were shipped to a camp near Kirkenes, in the Far North. Although Quisling's Education Department issued a long statement to the effect that all was settled and the activities of the new organization would cease, the teachers were kept there, in miserable living conditions and doing dangerous work.

Their suffering strengthened the home front morale, while it posed several problems to Quisling and his followers. On one occasion, Quisling raged at the teachers of a school near Oslo, ending: 'You teachers have destroyed everything for me!'

Fearful of alienating the Norwegians still further from his regime, Quisling finally ordered the teachers' release. Eight months after the arrests, the last of the teachers returned home to triumphal receptions.

The new organization never came into being, and the schools were never used for fascist propaganda. After Quisling encountered further difficulties in imposing the Corporate State, Hitler ordered him to abandon the plan.

INDIA: At the end of the 1920's, advocates of violent revolution had gained an impressive following and bombs were not infrequently thrown. However, the Indian National Congress accepted Gandhi's leadership in formulating a non-violent campaign for self-government.

For the 1930 campaign, Gandhi chose non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience. He formulated a program of political demands, and a plan for non-violent rebellion. Pleas to the Viceroy failed to produce concessions.

Focusing initially on the Salt Act (which imposed a heavy tax and a Government monopoly), Gandhi set out with disciples on a 26 day march to the sea to commit civil disobedience by making salt. After weighing the *pros* and *cons* the Government waited until later to arrest him.

The making of salt by Gandhi was the signal for mass non-violent revolt throughout the country. As the movement progressed, there were mass meetings, huge parades, making of seditious speeches, boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of liquor shops and opium dens. Students left government schools. The national flag was hoisted. There were social boycotts on government employees, short strikes (*hartals*), and resignations by government employees and Members of the Legislative Assembly and Councils.

Government departments were boycotted, as were foreign insurance firms, postal and telegraph services. Many refused to pay taxes. Some renounced titles. There were non-violent raids and seizures of government-held salt etc.

The Government arrested Gandhi early in the campaign. About 100,000 Indians (including 17,000 women) were imprisoned or held in detention camps. There were beatings, injuries, censorship, shootings, confiscation, intimidation, fines, banning of meetings, and organizations, and other measures. Some were shot dead.

During the year, the normal functioning of government was severely affected and great suffering experienced by the resisters. A truce was finally agreed, under terms settled by direct negotiations between Gandhi and the Viceroy.

Although concessions were made to the nationalists, the actual terms favoured the government more than the nationalists. More important, however, in Gandhi's view was that the strength thus generated in the Indians meant that independence could not long be denied, and the fact that by having to participate in direct negotiations with the non-violent rebels, the Government had recognized India as an equal, with whose representatives she had to negotiate. This was as upsetting to Churchill as it was reassuring to Gandhi.

* * *

In Vykam, Travancore, South India, un-

touchables had for centuries been forbidden to use a particular road leading directly to their quarter because the road passed an orthodox Brahmin temple. After consultations with Gandhi, in 1924, high caste Hindus initiated action.

A group of themselves and untouchable friends walked down the road, stopping in front of the temple. The orthodox Hindus attacked them severely, and some were arrested, receiving prison sentences of up to a year.

Volunteers poured in from all parts of India, and instead of further arrests, the Maharajah's government ordered police to prevent the reformers from entering the road. A cordon was placed across it. The reformers stood in an attitude of prayer before it, pleading with the police to allow them to pass. Both groups organized day and night shifts. The reformers pledged themselves to non-violence.

They refused to withdraw until the Brahmins recognized the right of the untouchables to use the highway. As the months passed, the numbers of the reformers and their spirits sometimes rose and sometimes fell.

When the rainy season came and the road was flooded, they stood by their posts, shortening their shifts to three hours as the water reached their shoulders. Police kept the cordon in boats.

When the Government finally removed the barrier, the reformers declined to walk forward until the orthodox Hindus had changed their attitude. After sixteen months the Brahmins said: 'We cannot any longer resist the prayers that have been made to us, and we are ready to receive the untouchables.'

The case had widespread reverberations throughout India, assisting in the removal of similar restrictions elsewhere and in strengthening the cause of caste reform.

RUSSIA: Among the 250,000 political prisoners in the coal-mining camps at Vorkuta, strikes against poor conditions had long been considered. The decision was precipitated just after Stalin's death in 1953 by the announcement by the MVD there that political prisoners ought not to expect an amnesty, as their liberation would jeopardize State security.

Many waverers then cast their lot with those advocating passive resistance, and by the end of May, strike committees were secretly established in several camps. They were composed of three groups of prisoners: Leninist students, anarchists, and the *Monashki* (a post-revolutionary pacifist Christian group resembling the early Quakers), plus prisoners representing no group.

Beria's fall encouraged more waverers. Strike committees were set up in the coal mining pits where they worked. The strike was to demand abolition of the camps and change of the prisoners' status to that of free colonists under contract. When, before the strike began, the central leadership was arrested and removed to Moscow, a new committee was elected.

On July 21 many prisoners remained in their barracks, refusing to work. They insisted on presenting their demands only to the commandant of all the Vorkuta camps, which they did two days later when 30,000 had joined the strike. Then the General made a long speech containing vague promises and specific threats.

A week passed without decisive action; no clear orders came from Moscow. Food would continue only while existing provisions lasted, it was announced. A strike leaflet appeared in thousands of copies urging self-reliance to gain freedom, and the strike as the only possible means of action. Sympathetic soldiers helped to spread these and to maintain contacts between the camps. Twenty big pits were shut down.

Russian-speaking troops were then withdrawn and replaced by soldiers from the Far East tribes. With the strike at its peak in early August, the State Prosecutor arrived with several generals from Moscow, offering minor concessions: two letters home a month (instead of a year), one visit a year, removal of identification numbers from clothes and of iron bars from barracks windows.

In an open letter, the strike leadership rejected these. The Prosecutor spoke at the camps, promising better food, higher pay, shorter shifts. Only a few wavered. The Strike Committee leaders went to an interview with the General, but never returned.

After holding out for over three months the strike finally ended in face of food and fuel

shortages. Considerable material improvements were made, and a spokesman of the International Commission on Concentration Camp Practices considered the strike action in this and other camps to have been one of the most important factors in the improvement in the lot of the political prisoners.

AMERICA: On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, a tired Negro seamstress, along with three others, was asked, in accordance with local practice, to give up her bus seat to a newly-boarded white man, and stand. Three complied, but Mrs. Parks, having had enough of such treatment, refused.

A one-day protest against her arrest by boycotting the buses on December 5th was nearly 100 per cent. effective. It was decided to continue the boycott indefinitely until major reforms in the policy were made. Evening mass meetings in churches overflowed. The response, in both numbers and spirit, exceeded all hopes.

Negroes walked, took taxis and shared rides, but stayed off the buses. A new spirit of dignity and self-respect permeated the Negro community. The whites were confronted by qualities they had not believed the Negroes possessed.

The aim became improvement of the whole community. The appeal was to Christian love. The young Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his co-workers, found themselves thrust into leadership and international prominence.

Negotiations failed to produce a satisfactory settlement. The use of taxis at reduced fares was prohibited. A car pool of 300 vehicles was organized. Money began to pour in, and a fleet of over 15 new station wagons was added. Many Negroes preferred to walk as a concrete expression of their determination and dedication. They grew in awareness of the nature of non-violent action and love in conflict.

False rumours were spread about the movement's leaders, along with false reports of a settlement. Negro drivers were arrested for minor, often imaginary, traffic violations. Police intimidation became common.

Rev. King was arrested on a charge of speeding. Over thirty threatening phone calls and letters reached the leaders daily, often

signed 'KKK'. King's home was bombed; Negroes nearly broke into violence, but calm was restored. Another home was bombed. Nearly 100 Negro leaders were arrested, charged with violating an anti-boycott law.

Fear, long known by Southern Negroes, was cast off. Many went to the sheriff's office, hoping to be among those 'wanted'. The trial — receiving world attention — became a testimony of fearlessness and a recounting of grievances. The movement gained new momentum.

A suit was filed by the Negroes in the Federal District Court, which declared the city bus segregation laws unconstitutional. The city appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Meanwhile the bus protest continued, asking now an end to bus segregation. Insurance policies on the station wagons were cancelled; they were transferred to a London firm. City officials declared the car pool illegal. The same day the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the unconstitutionality of the bus segregation laws.

That night the mass meeting emphasized love, dignity and refusal to ride the buses until segregation was abolished. Also, that night the Ku Klux Klan rode through the Negro district. Instead of locked dark houses of terrified Negroes, the lights were on, the doors open, and people watched the Klan parade, a few even waving. Nonplussed, the Klan disappeared.

With the car pool prohibited, each area worked out its own share-the-ride plan, and many walked. The buses remained empty. In the mass meetings, detailed plans were presented for resuming — after over a year — the use of the buses on an integrated basis. There must be no boasting of rights, no pushing, but courtesy, it was insisted. This was a victory, not over the white man, but for justice and democracy.

The Court's bus integration order finally reached Montgomery on December 20th. On the first day of integration, there were no major incidents.

Then the white extremists began a reign of terror. Shots were fired at buses. A teenage girl was beaten. A pregnant Negro woman was shot in the leg. The Klan paraded again. But the Negroes' fear of them had gone. A small Negro

boy warmed his hands at one of the burning crosses.

Then the homes of more leaders and several Negro churches were bombed. This turned the tide against the white supremacists. The local newspaper, several white ministers and the businessmen's association denounced the bombings.

The Negroes adhered to non-violence. More bombs exploded. Arrested whites were quickly found not guilty, but the disturbances abruptly ceased. The de-segregation proceeded smoothly, and in a few weeks transport was back to normal, with Negroes and whites sitting where they pleased on integrated buses — a compliance with the court order that would have been virtually inconceivable, without the forces set in operation by the Negroes' non-violent action.

NON-VIOLENT ACTION

There are many other examples which might be cited of this type of movement: the Moslem 'Servants of God' movement led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the North-West Frontier Province of British India; the actions of Danilo Dolci in Sicily, the civil disobedience actions of the unilateralists in Britain, the Danish resistance to the Nazi occupation, and many others in almost every part of the world.

This is the phenomenon of non-violent action. It has been called by various names: 'passive resistance', 'Satyagraha', 'positive action', 'non-violent resistance', 'non-violent direct action'.

Gandhi has been its modern prophet, and has made major improvements in the technique. He refined and consciously developed its strategy, tactics and methods. He combined mass political action with a moral rejection of violence. He coupled direct action with a constructive programme for social reconstruction.

Yet it cannot be dismissed as a 'peculiarly Indian' or 'Hindu' phenomenon. Its practice by Moslems, Christians, atheists and others in various parts of the world before, during and since Gandhi's time is evidence to the contrary.

Further, in various places under totalitarian rule, as in the examples of Norway and Vorkuta,

the technique has been applied with no evidence of significant Gandhian influence.

In recent years, the practice has spread rapidly. It is, perhaps, not without significance that the emergence of this technique to prominence in the political arena has taken place in the same half-century as the emergence of the totalitarian State and nuclear war. On the one hand is power which relies on suppression and destruction. On the other, is power relying on non-cooperation, intervention, and non-violent moral courage.

Remarkable, too, is it that this technique, which is being used by people, often in the face of overwhelming obstacles, to assert their participation in determining their own destinies, has emerged to significance in an era of political manipulation and widespread feelings of impotence.

In the years of some of the most blatant crimes against humanity, a technique of action has moved into the political arena which may be applied without violation of the actionists' moral values. Perhaps it is equally significant that it has provided a means of conducting important conflicts for humanitarian objectives, without the significant weaknesses of the traditional methods of action.

There are important indications that this type of action is a far more creative response to the conflict situation, and that it helps to create a more satisfactory resolution of the conflict and to build a better social order. As violence is closely associated with tyranny, injustice and war, the non-violent nature of this response may have far-reaching effects.

A SUITABLE SUBSTITUTE?

There is the problem of the extent to which non-violent action is suitable as a substitute for violent conflict and violent sanctions. We are concerned, it is recalled, not with applying this technique every time a disagreement appears, for there are many other ways of dealing with most conflicts and solving them. It is a question of means of action in conflicts which are not resolved by the normal means, and of an ultimate sanction.

There has been enough experience with non-

violent action to establish that it cannot be flatly dismissed as a substitute for violence, at least on some occasions. The problem therefore becomes one of the extent to which this substitution is possible. Here opinions differ considerably, and our desire here is not to present dogmatic conclusions, but to suggest areas in which further thought, knowledge and experimentation might be useful in seeking an answer to our central problem.

We must keep in mind in this discussion the present limitations on violent conflict, the dangers of having no means of struggle, and the relatively limited state of our knowledge of non-violent action. In some of these areas, the substitution has been largely already made. In others, it has only to a limited degree, while in still other situations, the idea still seems improbable to most observers.

1. *In labour disputes:* Here the substitution of a few non-violent methods, the strike and boycott, for violence was made long ago, and there is virtually no voice advocating a return to violence in such conflicts. The form of action has often been applied without a compatible spirit, and little attention has been given to other non-violent forms. However, a recent proposal that teachers in Britain should continue teaching while refusing their usual pay, as a means of calling attention to problems of salaries and other conditions, is a reminder of the existence of other possible forms.

2. *In minority group grievances:* There has been a rapid growth in the substitution of non-violent action for both violence and passivity among minorities feeling oppressed or discriminated against in recent years. The use of non-violent action by the Southern Negroes, the civil disobedience of Tamils in Ceylon, and of South African Indians are examples of this. It is often clear that violence would be useless in such situations, while the conventional means of change are often inadequately available or inappropriate.

3. *In peasant struggles:* Non-violent action has been used on a limited scale in such conflicts, as in the Bardoli satyagraha campaign of 1928 and in post-independence peasant movements in India. A major substitution has not taken place, however.

4. *In colonial liberation movements:* Here there is widespread recognition of non-violent action as a possible alternative to violence. There exists, however, among colonial peoples at present nothing resembling unanimity on the question. The Indian case is the prime example of such a substitution. Prominent African nationalists support and practice non-violent action, while others adhere to violence.

5. *In issues of 'no compromise':* Where a group of the populace differs basically from government policies on matters of principle on which no compromise is seen as possible, a traditional response has been violent rioting, political terrorism, and sometimes violent revolt. Non-violent action has provided in Britain in the unilateral nuclear disarmament movement and in France among Frenchmen opposed to the Algerian War an alternative peaceful means of opposition.

6. *In revolutions against tyrants:* Still less consensus exists here, although it is significant that to date the South African non-whites have chosen to rely upon non-violent action, and that non-violent means played a major part in the Norwegian and Danish resistance movements, the East German Revolt, and (along with considerable violence) in the Hungarian Revolution. There is a widespread view that the political circumstances may be a determining factor in deciding which technique is suitable.

7. *In national defence policies:* There has been no case of a deliberate substitution of non-violent action for military means as a national defence policy, although the Danish decision not to offer futile military resistance to the Nazis but to resist them through other means after the occupation, and several cases of non-violent action under occupations, are relevant. A defence policy of advance training of the populace in resistance by non-violent methods as a means of meeting possible invasion and of deterring such invasion by making the chances of a successful occupation small, has been advocated by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in Britain, Professor Arne Noess in Norway, and Dr. Jerome D. Frank in the United States, among others. The present limits of war, and the reality of tyranny may

make this a more reasonable possibility than may appear at first sight.

8. *In meeting a coup d'état:* The general strike in 1920 in Germany against the Kapp Putsch is probably the only experience thus far in the use of non-violent action as the main sanction to defend the existing government against a *coup d'état*. In light of the difficulties of other possible courses where the army supports a *coup*, various methods of non-violent action may merit consideration.

9. *In providing domestic sanctions:* The possibility of substituting non-violent sanctions for violent ones (police, prisons, etc.) has scarcely been considered, although there have been small attempts in India to develop a non-violent corps as a substitute for police in quelling riots, guarding villages from bandits, and so on.

Certain types of law on social policy, for example laws against child-labour or racial discrimination, might be enforced, after investigation and negotiation, not by imprisonment but by officially approved boycotts, non-cooperation, strikes, etc. against the offending firm. In an age of increasing concentration of power in the State, such possibilities may not be entirely unreasonable.

NOT A BLUEPRINT BUT A DIRECTION

The South African situation provides an opportunity for a co-ordination of non-violent action by the internal resistance movement of the non-whites and white liberals, and international action through such means as economic boycott, refusal to co-operate with South African bodies except those practising racial integration, political pressures at the United Nations, refusal to supply any sort of arms to the South African Government, and many other measures, undertaken on a mass scale.

Conflict there is, and sanctions there must be. But there is also the opportunity in this case of applying sanctions which, while wielding effective power in the situation, also allow for creativity and contribute to a positively better society in the future. It will be sad if this opportunity for combined action is lost. Gestures

are insufficient. This could provide a pattern for dealing by such means with future tyrants.

All this has nothing to do with the question of 'pacifism' as it has traditionally been posed. That question remains of historical interest and relevant to one's personal philosophy of life. But it is not the question before us, or that posed by non-violent action. This is a question of the political potentialities of a technique of action which has in certain situations demonstrated its relevance and effectiveness.

No matter from what philosophical or ideological position one starts, there is no cut and dried answer concerning how this technique might be applied in a multitude of situations in which there is now widespread ultimate reliance on violence. There are no carefully worked out plans.

There is great need for research and analysis on this technique, and its possible relevance to the types of situations we have suggested.

There is need for widespread study of the existing knowledge in the field, and for a public educational programme (through the schools, political parties, religious bodies, peace groups, trade unions, etc.) on this possible response to the modern problem of political conflict.

Careful training is needed for those desiring to practise the technique in particular situations, and further experimental application of it will increase our knowledge of its nature and possibilities. Problems concerning its application, limitations and potentialities are inevitable. There is no blueprint. Success cannot be guaranteed, any more than it can by the use of other techniques.

Existing knowledge and experience, however, indicate that this is a direction which merits full consideration. In light of the severity of the problem posed by contemporary forms of political violence, this is a possible alternative which we dare not ignore.

Can there be Industrial Democracy?

A Re-assessment

Wilfred Brown, Chairman, The Glacier Metal Co. Ltd., Wembley, Middlesex

I AM ASKED to write about creative conflict in industry. This is a tremendously broad canvas and I decided, therefore, with the Editor's agreement, to tackle the subject from the angle of examining the idea of 'industrial democracy'. I wanted to do this because many people think of conflict as due to absence of democracy and of creative conflict as something that can only be achieved by Industrial Democracy. I believe that this is a false start to thinking, as I hope to show in what follows, and that whilst there will always be conflict in industry, the best means of tackling it is to face reality. Until we rid ourselves of a lot of false notions based on a commendable but unhelpful idealism, we shall not be able to build the social institutions through which conflict can be constructively mediated.

Much has been written on the subject of 'industrial democracy'; little of it, as far as my reading goes, gives real content to the phrase. Its use sometimes seems to imply that industry

ought to be changed in such a way as to reproduce within it institutions similar to those which characterize the political life of a democracy. I will attempt to show that, if the terms 'industrial' and 'democracy' are used in their normal sense, the phrase can have no meaning, and that its continued use merely confuses our thinking about many urgent industrial problems.

At one stage of my career, I used the term 'industrial democracy' to denote a target at which industry should aim. I was concerned with the apparent dominance of those who owned industry over the lives of those who worked within it. It seemed to me wrong that, in a society which governed itself by the institution of political democracy, 'authoritarianism' should apparently form the basis upon which our industrial lives were regulated. It seemed proper that democracy, the basis of our political institutions, should permeate into industry and form the basis upon which we

regulate our working lives also. Such thinking, however, takes no account of the real nature of industry.

I shall not attempt to define 'democracy', first, because I do not think I am technically qualified to do so, and secondly, because for my purpose in this article it is unnecessary. One thing I think will be agreed: for those who people its institutions, the entry point to democracy is citizenship. One is born to, or assumes by naturalization, the right and the duty to take part in it. If I now proceed to describe the institutions of industry, I think it will become self-evident that, without changes of a very fundamental kind and of a magnitude which none of those who write about 'industrial democracy' apparently visualizes, the political concept of democracy is not a feasible proposition.

THE FALSE ANALOGY

An industrial company, looked at as a social institution, consists of a series of inter-connected roles extending from that of the managing director down through various ranks of manager and specialist, to all the so-called manual occupations. All of these roles are inter-connected, because none of the responsibilities attaching to any one of them can be discharged except through its relationship with other roles. For instance, a manager minimally must establish relationships with his superior, his colleagues and his immediate subordinates. Throughout this article, I shall refer to this particular sort of social system as an *executive system*, because each of these roles is concerned with the execution of certain defined tasks.

The Contract

Whereas the entry point into political democracy is through citizenship, the entry point into the industrial company is through the employment contract by which an individual, not necessarily a citizen of the country, takes on a role in an executive system. He accepts the rights, responsibilities and duties of one of these roles in return for certain payment. In contrast to the role of citizenship, he may at will leave the executive role or be discharged from

it. He has no place in industry until he *has* so contracted into an executive role. This seems to me to be the basic difference between an industrial company on the one hand, and a sovereign state on the other.

Historically, a 'company' is a company of individuals who wish to venture some of their capital in an enterprise, and they appoint some person to conduct that enterprise. In this way the right of shareholders, through their committee the board of directors, to appoint the chief executive, whom they hold responsible for the total job of running the company, has become embodied in the Companies Act.

To the role of the chief executive is attached a job bigger than one man can do. He must, therefore, be given assistance, and other subordinate roles are accordingly structured into the system. If they are not subordinate to his role, then he cannot be held accountable for carrying out the totality of his job. In order to get his work done he must delegate parts of it to his subordinates. He is therefore, dependent upon them for the effectiveness with which part of his task is performed, and he will be rewarded, retained, disciplined or discharged from his role on the board's assessment of how well that total task is carried out. Thus it follows that unless he is in a position to discharge his subordinates from their posts, they, by consistently failing to perform satisfactorily themselves, can cause him to fail and bring about his discharge.

Managers and Subordinates

Without, therefore, drastic changes of an unforeseeable nature, the manager/subordinate characteristics of executive systems appear to be inevitable. I should, for instance, be surprised if the most exhaustive research and experiment suggested a workable means of organizing modern industry which did not involve the holding of one man responsible for the complete task, with a hierarchical system through which he can delegate parts of the task, through the subordinate/manager relationship.

There are, of course, examples of small self-governing co-operatives where apparently this manager/subordinate relationship does not

exist, and there are the ideas of the guild socialists. But those who write on and discuss 'industrial democracy' do not indicate that they seek to remodel industry along the lines of working co-operatives or the ideas of the guild socialists.

It is also a fact that the executive systems controlled by elected legislatures in Britain (for example the Civil Service controlled by Parliament, or county executive systems controlled by the elected County Councils) are themselves in principle constructed similarly to industrial executive systems. Since, therefore, it has been found necessary to construct even those executive systems which form part of democratic political systems so as to include the manager/subordinate relationship, it seems unlikely that a form of organization not characterized by this relationship can emerge in industry.

I have commented at length on the manager/subordinate relationship because it may well be that ideas about the need for 'industrial democracy' stem, to some extent, from some such idea as: 'If citizens can "fire" Members of Parliament, then why should not a body of workers be able to elect and, if necessary, "fire" the boss?' In so far as false analogies are accepted between 'the Government' and 'the governor,' Parliament and 'the shop stewards committee,' then these ideas can persist.

WHO HOLDS THE POWER?

Many people to-day regard industry as a place where managers have great power over others and are able virtually to make any change so long as it be within the law of the land. Many managers talk as if they believe that the situation *ought* to be like that if they are to be able to do their jobs efficiently, and regret that, owing to the power of trade unions etc. etc., it is not so.

Indeed, the persistency of the warnings given by shop stewards and local union officials to their members about the 'power' of managers can be taken in conjunction with the nostalgia of so many managers for a past (largely mythical), when managers managed and had real power. I believe that there is a very real, but of course

subconscious, collusion between managers and workers to maintain a high degree of confusion on the subject, in order to avoid the changes in behaviour which a more realistic perception of the situation would demand. Is there not a considerable body of feeling within the ranks of trade unions that, just as soon as 'management' ceases to look like a powerful threat to workers, it will be difficult to maintain trade union cohesion? Is there not a considerable abdication of responsibility in the ranks of managers who feel that their 'lost power' was a necessary concomitant of the job of managing?

A Fantasy Picture

To put this in over-simplified form, many managers believe that their role implies that they should have power to make decisions regardless; many workpeople believe that they are subject to the power of managers and themselves relatively powerless. This sort of fantasy-picture has, I believe, a great deal to do with the demand for 'industrial democracy'.

One of the most impressive things about the current age is our relative failure to adopt towards our social problems that scientifically disciplined outlook which has played so large a part in the technical advances which society has made.

Consider the massive resources and growing number of technicians deployed on investigating the relations between materials and processes, processes and machines, machines and people on the one hand, and the negligible number deployed on investigation into the relations between individuals, groups and social institutions. The discrepancy is dangerous, for the situation requires that we should be able to look dispassionately at the social situation in industry as it is, and cease to use our fears and aspirations as a substitute for objective assessment.¹

Take the question of power in industry. The word connotes the idea of being able to do

¹ The Company for which I work has, with independent technical assistance, attempted to examine objectively its own social organization. Much of this article arises as a result of research done in this way. See *Exploration in Management* by Wilfred Brown and *Equitable Payment* by Elliott Jacques — Heinemann.

what one wishes without reference to others. Who has power, in this sense, in industry? One way of getting an answer is to ask 'Who can unilaterally close down a factory?'

Groups in Industry

There are three groups associated with industry who can do so. The shareholders, who are entitled by law; customers, who can do so by the slow process of ceasing to place orders for goods or services; and those who work in a factory,² by going on strike. The managing director of a private company, without the support of at least one of these power groups, cannot close a factory. In this sense then, managers have not got power. This may seem an extraordinary statement, but in the last analysis no manager can initiate any change unless it is tolerated by all three of the power groups mentioned. This is not a matter of opinion but a demonstrable fact, and yet it is a commentary on the strength of the subconscious collusion to which I have referred that many people in industry will not accept it as such.

I remember years ago having a discussion with the managing director of a very large industrial company. I had put forward the view I have expressed above, and he had dismissed it with some heat. 'Admittedly,' he said, 'managers have much less power than they ought to have to enable them to do the job effectively, but to say that every change they may wish to initiate must, in the last analysis, be tolerated by workpeople is surely nonsense.' I said to him. 'Suppose that you wished to change the hours of one department of one of your many factories, by starting a quarter of an hour earlier in the morning; can you do it?' He thought for a moment and said 'Yes, I can do it, but should have to see the shop stewards first.' I said to him, 'By the same token, can you initiate any change that matters to people who work in your Company, unless you know intuitively or by direct reference to their representatives, that they will tolerate it?'

² By 'those who work in a factory', I mean all employees — managers, specialists, clerks and 'workers' — not the last-named alone; and when I use the term 'representatives' I mean representatives of all such classes of employees.

Can you initiate any change to which the majority of your shareholders object? Can you initiate any change which the majority of your customers would not accept? Obviously, your customers will not object to a change of hours, your workpeople will not object to your choice of place for the annual general meeting, and your shareholders will not necessarily object to the way you pack your goods, but each may well object to anything which they feel to affect their interests. And so long as they are prepared to use their power to sustain their objection, you cannot initiate the change you desire.'

Sanctioning Change

The job of the manager, amongst others, is to assess the situation, to plan, with the help of technical specialists, the changes that are required, and then to consider whether he has the authority and resources to initiate such changes. His authority is a function of many things, but most important of all is the degree to which such changes will be sanctioned by those power bodies to which I have referred.

The chief executive of a concern is in a different position from others. He alone must consider the degree of sanction he can expect from shareholders and customers; to other managers, the sanction of such bodies is transmitted to them by the chief executive. If he feels that these bodies will tolerate the change, then the forms in which that expected toleration reaches his subordinate managers is in terms of his personal approval.

One of the essential skills of management is to be able, consciously or intuitively, to assess in advance what changes can be made, and to have the ability to explain the need for change clearly and effectively. It is not a matter of each change being either tolerable or intolerable to the power groups, but rather of the manager being able, when introducing change, to maintain in each group that irreducible degree of satisfaction without which pressures will arise and slow down progress. Without this, for example, shareholders may not be ready to provide all the additional capital, customers may withdraw some business or refuse to pay the full price demanded, and people in the company may cease to work as effectively as

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is required. It is the constant feed-back of reaction to the changes he proposes or initiates that provides the chief executive with a knowledge of the bounds of his own authority. He, in turn, can set the bounds of his subordinate managers' authority by initiating appropriate policies in the light of his own experience.

A chief executive's capacity to assess the probable reaction of these power groups is the basis from which he is able to initiate very large numbers of the changes which he finds advisable. If this were not so his working life would be one long series of meetings. Nevertheless, explicit sanctioning mechanisms exist and are used in every company. In the case of shareholders, these sanctioning-means are constituted by board meetings, shareholders' meetings, publication of balance sheets, etc. In the case of customers, the entire sales organization, looked at in one way, may be considered as a sanctioning mechanism. It is constantly concerned to discover what changes in price, delivery, quantity and design will be tolerated by customers. What about the power groups inside the company? It is clear that joint consultative meetings, meetings with union officials, shop stewards committees, *ad hoc* delegations from staff etc., are examples of the use of a sanctioning system.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

We may not be far from the time when there will be widespread and explicit recognition (there is evidence of a fairly general intuitive appreciation already) amongst managers that they cannot initiate the changes which external pressures are forcing upon British industry, without having at their disposal more *effective* institutions for dealing with social problems. These serve three purposes amongst others: —

(a) to mitigate the use of sheer power by submitting proposed changes to the process of reasoned discussion. This will be more effective if it is recognized by all who take part that, if reasoned discussion fail to bring about agreement, then the balance of power between the groups I have named will dictate the issue.

(b) to allow those who work in a company to

limit the authority of the manager in such a way as to make unmistakably clear to those represented the use their representatives have made of their power; the responsibility which consequently falls upon them for the decision reached should also become clear.

and

- (c) to allow the manager to test the bounds of his authority on marginal issues.

I have emphasized the word 'effective' above, for widespread reported and documented evidence suggests that manager/shop steward or joint consultative meetings, as conventionally structured, tend to be used as means of exploiting the fantasy 'worker-management conflict' to which I have referred. Most problems seem to be considered in terms of which 'side' is most favoured by any proposals for solution, instead of serving both as a means of working through conflict to constructive measures of agreement, and as 'feed-back' mechanisms which help managers to ascertain the bounds of their own authority. I have not the space to consider changes in the structure of such bodies which could make them more effectively suited to the purpose outlined, but I would refer those interested, to *Exploration in Management*.

The Real Situation

Failure to build explicit social institutions, the full purpose and nature of which can be seen by people in the factory and which become familiar to them through constant use, supports fear of being bossed and gives rise to thinking in terms of false analogies with political systems. It should be clear, however, that the setting up of representative bodies within a factory for the purposes outlined is independent of any concept of democracy or, in fact, of anything else derived from outside authority.

Consider the case of a chief executive who says to all who work in the company he manages: 'You can, as a body, stop any change I wish to initiate, for you have the power to do so if you avail yourselves of it. If I initiate change to which you object, but which fails to arouse sufficient objection to cause you to

resort to the use of your power to stop me, nevertheless, I shall have reduced morale and thereby the level of efficiency. As it is my task to run the company as effectively as possible, I must do all possible to avoid such situations arising. Nevertheless, shareholders and customers also possess power in the situation and they too, in their own ways, can use power to prevent my initiating change even though you are prepared to use your power to try and push that change through. Thus I stand in a situation controlled by a triangle of power groups. The relative magnitude of the power of each of these groups changes with change in the political and economic life of the country. I will go as far as the authority which I derive from these power groups will allow me in initiating change which seems to me to be likely to help this company increase its effectiveness.'

Many would describe this attitude variously as fair, good, democratic, but the salient feature of the statement is that it gives expression to a series of facts. It is, in my view an objective description of the real industrial situation.

How a Manager Works

I now want to deal with a misunderstanding which may have arisen in readers' minds as a result of the difficulty of dealing with this subject in the space available. I have painted a picture of a managing director meeting representatives of his workers, and having to face lack of sanction from them, for example, for a minor change in the design of the company's product, — in short, the possibility of representatives of the power group in the factory meeting the managing director and insisting upon, or preventing, minute changes.

The purposes for which a manager uses this sanctioning mechanism are to find out the bounds of his personal authority. Now, *he* is concerned with (a) the decisions which he has to make, and (b) the prescribed framework of routine, policy, etc., which he sets for his subordinates. For example, a managing director dealing with the subject of technical advance is not directly concerned with the technical decisions established by the technical hierarchy subordinate to him. He is concerned with such things as the goals to be achieved, resources

required and the time schedule to be worked to. On the other hand, the manager of a drawing-office will be concerned with detailed technical decisions which fall within the area of his discretion.

Effective use of this sanctioning institution, therefore, implies the principle of the manager's using the institution himself and meeting representatives of his subordinates — in the case of a managing director, representatives of all levels of the company. This in turn implies that the range of subjects which a manager will raise, or with which he can be confronted, are those which are likely to be of concern to a substantial part of his total command. My own experience as a managing director when a subject reaches my agenda, the responsibility for a decision on which lies at a lower level, is this: that I have no difficulty in agreeing with representatives to leave the matter to the appropriate manager. This then, is an explanation of the fact that, with an *effectively constructed* sanctioning mechanism, problems do get dealt with at an appropriate level of the organization.

FACING REALITIES

My last point is concerned with the question, 'Is it going to be possible to get organized labour in our factories to face the reality of their own position?'

Experience suggests that it is a fantasy feeling, on the one hand, of their own powerlessness and, on the other hand, of the powerfulness of managers, that frequently causes factory workers to use their real power irresponsibly.

A powerful group that does not realize its own strength, which persists in believing that it is weak and menaced by something more powerful, can be an anxious and irresponsible group. A group that feels secure in the knowledge of its own ability to protect its interests is much more likely to be able to examine the objective need for change when it is proposed, and to act responsibly.

It seems clear that such insight exists in the hierarchies of some trade unions. A spread of this insight to the rank and file might ease the transition of trade unions from the traditional defensive role, which is becoming less tenable as time goes on, to the constructive role which they must inevitably play if this country is to avoid serious trouble.

Such changes in insight would do much to substitute unrealistic ideas about the existence of 'authoritarianism' and the need for 'industrial democracy' with clearer appreciation of the real situation in industry. Such growth of perception alone could increase the satisfactions obtainable by individuals from their daily work, *and* the effectiveness with which industry produces.

When industrial companies accept the idea that technical and social research must go forward together, and that technical development can be stalled by ignorance or fantasy-pictures of the nature of social organization, then social research will begin to take its proper place. Such social research and development, by its very nature, can only be done in collaboration with people. It is this sort of work which begets greater insight into the reality of industrial institutions.

To sum up, I hold the view that: —

- (a) democracy is a political concept not transferable to the industrial situation, and that the term 'Industrial Democracy' is therefore without meaning;
- (b) That research is necessary in order that we may be able to state, and to teach, the real nature of the executive systems through which industry works. That reality-pictures, based on disciplined research, are necessary to dispel the false pictures which exist;
- (c) that further insight by those who work in industry into the real nature of industry's social processes and institutions is essential if we are to achieve that rate of change and adaptation in industry which is being forced upon the country by external circumstances.

The bulk of this paper was written for The Fabian Society four years ago. Ed.

A Summing-Up

James L. Henderson

*We pieced our thoughts into philosophy
And planned to bring the world under a rule,
Who are but weasels fighting in a hole.*

(Yeats: 1919)

IN MOST parts of the world to-day, thinking men and women — not weasels — share the conviction that, if the human species is to survive, it will need to achieve a global pattern of living which does not yet exist. Teachers at every level of education are increasingly expected to view their profession in an international perspective and to foster in their pupils an awareness of supra-national loyalties as the necessary condition for the legitimate fulfilment of national ones. The implications of this fact for industrial and political institutions are evident when viewed in the educational perspective of the homes and schools from which their members are recruited. Yet education for international understanding can only prosper if it concerns itself not only with man's political and economic activities but also with such basic beliefs as he holds about his own nature. How to nurture that concern has been the burden of this *New Era* number, namely how to produce a new type of human being — one capable of feeling, thinking and acting on a stage which already extends across the entire surface of the earth and is even now thrusting forth into space.

All four contributions to 'The Uses of Conflict in Creating Social Order' have been driving from different directions towards this one world problem. James Hemming rightly drew our attention at the start to the paradoxical fact that conflict accepted, endured and transcended but not conflict denied, was the essential prerequisite of individual and collective peace. Miriam Langdon gave us a beautifully clear, deep picture of ways in which this law can be fulfilled in childhood. Gene Sharp placed the issue in its political context historically, and scrutinised some recent and contemporary applications of non-violent forms of conflict. Wilfred Brown focussed the process in terms of

the relationships between the three parties to an industrial enterprise. Instead of rather tiresomely trying to make a precis of their rich material, I would like to conclude by drawing out somewhat further one or two themes which seem to permeate it.

There is a double image of the enterprise of education for international understanding: one, the adult's impression of the world scene, the other, the child's capacity for digesting what his elders think they have seen of it and wish to communicate to him. These two have somehow got to be brought into a common focus. In the case of the former, three levels of observation are pertinent: politically the adult has to recognize and cope with a conflict between, on the one hand, some one hundred and thirty autonomous nation states and two rival ideologies cutting across them, and on the other hand the need for some degree of supra-national government and for charitable ideological co-existence; economically he has to recognize and cope with the conflict between millions of hungry people and a population explosion on the one hand and the demands of a world food production plan and population control on the other; psychologically, he has to recognize and cope with the conflict between fear and aggressiveness on the one hand, courage and love on the other.

In the case of the latter, the factors of children's varying ages and aptitudes have to be incorporated in any educational principles as to what they can learn, not what they 'ought' to be taught, about the above international data. Extending Miriam Langdon's educational counsel into the years of adolescence, it could be argued that boys and girls in every quarter of the globe should be offered a social studies diet during their secondary school years, which would nourish and elucidate their relationships

to their origins, individual and collective, to their neighbours transcending national frontiers, and to those ultimate values by which all lives are ruled.

'For surely it is folly to preach to children who will be riding rockets to the moon a morality and cosmology based on concepts of the Good Society and of man's place in nature that were coined before the harnessing of the horse.' [Joseph Campbell — *The Masks of God*] The eschewing of such folly could be aided by an imaginative study of comparative nationalism and an introduction, active as well as theoretical, to the organs of world co-operation, governmental and voluntary, which already exist and which need to enlist the coming generation's understanding and support. Yet none of this work of realizing the double image of the enterprise can succeed unless parents and teachers appreciate the unconscious springs of thought and feeling which so often cloud a clear vision of human relationships — especially that most difficult of them all, namely, living with the enemy! In a letter under that title to *The New Statesman and Nation* of November 17 1961, R. T. Oerton wrote: —

'When I said I regarded the H-bomb as symbolic of the repressed aggression in "civilised" mankind, I was trying to make a perfectly plain statement of fact, which I would like now to elaborate. In their search for the causes of war people will look everywhere but into their own unconscious. In fact people make war because unconsciously they desire war, they desire it because the restraints which civilisation imposes on their natural instincts become

intolerable. Their aggressive instincts are restrained, and the accompanying restraint of their sexual instincts only adds to their aggression. They seek an outlet at all costs. . . . Man knows, unconsciously, that he cannot go back to the primitive, natural life of the jungle, to the life of real pleasure and real pain, of real love and real hate, to the life which was a life, however much he may want to. If he is to live, he must go on: evolution and biology force him always forwards. And unconsciously he sees before him nothing but the reinforced concrete of further civilisation and the reinforced concrete of the increasing repression of his own nature. The dilemma is terrible. Whatever he may think consciously, is man beginning unconsciously to believe that life is no longer worth living? . . . Are man's unconscious needs being so persistently denied that they will rebel in wrath and force him to destroy his civilization in an attempt to regain the jungle he has left?'

If to such questions parents and teachers are to answer with an emphatic 'No', if they are to be neither victims nor executioners in a third world war, then they must affirm in thought, feeling and action that they do in fact share a common value. They must, to borrow a phrase from Sir Julian Huxley, achieve 'a global unification of human awareness'. What the nature of that value is, this number of *The New Era* has perhaps made clear. It is reverence for the midpoint of the whole personality, the 'still centre' of genuine community where the conflict of opposites is experienced as the play of creation.

James L. Henderson

Learning about Enemies

I. USEFUL BOOKS

(a) RUSSIA:

GORKI (Maxim) — *My Childhood, In The World, My Universities*

— two love-hate relationships: (i) Maxim and his grandfather, who beats him brutally, and shows warm affection for him; (ii) the landowner Romass and his peasants, who answer his kindness by murdering his servant and burning his house.

HUGHES (William — editor.) — *These Human Russians*

— an anthology published by Gollancz.

PASTERNAK (Boris) — *Doctor Zhivago*.

— the character of Pamphil, the 'gloomy and unsociable giant' whose 'savage hatred' was useful at the start of the Revolution, but who has great affection for his children and carves toys for them. Finally, murders them to save them from the White Russians.

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(b) THE FAR EAST — ESPECIALLY JAPAN:

FORSTER (E. M.) — *A Passage to India*.

PLOMER (William) — *Sado*.

— both the above books concentrate on the difficulties of personal friendship between people of different civilizations.

SEWELL (William) — *Strange Harmony*. (P)

VAN DER POST (Laurens) — *A Bar of Shadow*. (P)

— both these books are based on experiences as prisoners of the Japanese.

WALN (Nora) — *A House of Exile*.

(c) AFRICA:

LANHAM (Peter) — *Blanket Boys Moon*.

— the conflict of two societies and their ideas of justice, focussed on a ritual murder.

PATON (Alan) — *Cry the Beloved Country* and *Too Late the Phalarope*.

REID (V.S.) — *The Leopard*.

— a story of conflict in Kenya, told through the eyes of an African.

SCHREINER (Olive) — *The Story of an African Farm*.

VAN DER POST (Laurens) — all his writings, not least *The Dark Eye in Africa*.

WARNER (Esther) — *Trial by Sasswood*.

(d) GERMANY AND THE TWO WORLD WARS:

BUTRON (Michel) — *Hans*.

— a German prisoner-of-war on a French farm.

CATLIN (George — editor) — *Above All Nations*.

— an anthology of acts of kindness between enemies in the last war.

GOES (Albrecht) — *Arrow to the Heart*. (P)

— *The Burnt Offering*.

LEBER (Annedore — editor.) — *Das Gewissen steht auf*. (P)

— an anthology of the last letters of men and women who resisted Hitler. Translated.

REMARQUE (Erich Maria) — *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

— incident of the German soldier trapped in the same shell-hole with an enemy Frenchman. Killed him — revulsion at doing so.

VON MOLTKE (Count Helmuth) — *A German of the Resistance*. (P)

— his last letters from prison.

SAINT-EXUPERY (Antoine) — *Flight to Arras*.

— his reflections on the experience of defeat.

(ALSO USEFUL: Certain films, such as Cayette's 'The Crossing of the Rhine', and some poems, such as those of Wilfred Owen:

... I mean the truth untold,

The pity of war, the pity war distilled.

Now men will go content with what we spoiled.

Or, discontent, boil bloody, and be spilled.

They will be swift with swiftness of the

tigress,

None will break ranks, though nations trek

from progress.

Courage was mine, and I had mystery,

Wisdom was mine, and I had mastery;

To miss the march of this retreating world

Into vain citadels that are not walled.

Then, when much blood had clogged their

charriot-wheels

I would go up and wash them from sweet

wells,

Even with truths that lie too deep for taint.

I would have poured my spirit without stint

But not through wounds; not on the cess

of war.

Foreheads of men have bled where no

wounds were.

I am the enemy you killed my friend ...

Strange Meeting.)

(e) PRISON EXPERIENCES:

(The experiences of individuals, held in captivity by the enemy. Several of the above books are also relevant here, and are marked with a (P).

DE BEAUSOBRE (Iulia) — *The Woman Who Could Not Die*.

KOESTLER (Arthur) — *Spanish Testament and Darkness at Noon*.

FRANK (Anne) — *The Diary of a Young Girl*.

MOEN (Peter) — *Peter Moen's Diary*.

— a Norwegian. Self-accusation for betraying his comrades, under torture.

(g) GENERAL:

(i) A personal enemy:

The story of the conflict between two village boys; the writer who was Protestant, and Maubert, who was Catholic. To be found in Andre CHAMSON's '*A Mountain Boyhood*' and in his autobiography *A Time to Keep*.

(ii) The primitive as the enemy

The meetings of a lonely herdsman with a satyr, and his fear of, but ultimate affection for, the strange creature. A long short story by Joseph d'ARBAUD, called '*The Beast of the Vaccares*'.

(iii) The evil enemy

Power figures possessed by their own darker side are to be found in:—

CONRAD (Joseph) — *Heart of Darkness*.

MANN (Thomas) — *Mario the Magician*.

— a short story, written in 1929, with an Italian setting. Mann treated the theme again in his long novel, written at the time of the German collapse, *Dr. Faustus*.

MELVILLE (Herman) — *Moby Dick*.

— there is also a rich conflict-situation in *Billy Budd*.

of the Herrenvolk. It is so strange a situation that I can hardly describe what I am feeling. Loneliness is perhaps the only word for it. These are men who set out to conquer the world, and they and their kind have done unspeakable things to me and my kind, and I am supposed to hate them with all my strength, and would be right to do so according to the recognised standards of human behaviour. But I cannot hate, or is it that in the face of suffering hatred is silent? So it happens that the guard is turned into a nurse, and if a man, from losing too much blood, goes out of his mind and stammers incoherently, I have to talk him to sleep again. And it sometimes happens that men try to hold my hand when I have helped them. That makes me feel lonely . . .

Only a few lines. It is midnight, and I am going off duty after having had a busy time with that man who lost so much blood and went crackers. He had an operation and blood transfusion, and I was the only one able to talk to him. In the end he obeyed my orders instantly with 'Jawohl, Herr Doktor!' Once he said 'Sie sind so ein feiner Mensch' and then 'Sie sind zu mir wie ein Vater'. What shall I make of it? I can only draw one conclusion, which is that I am a terribly bad soldier and I am somehow glad about it . . . (Later) The man has died. The doctors fought for his life as if he were a celebrity.

(From *The Devil's Repertoire* by Victor Gollancz. pp. 67–68.)

LEARNING ABOUT ENEMIES: II. EXTRACTS

(1) AN AUSTRIAN JEW AND THE NAZIS:

The following is an extract from a letter received during the war from an Austrian Jew in the British Pioneer Corps . . . He was attached to a hospital receiving German wounded. He had been nine months in the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald: he had been hanged by the wrists to a tree and had once nearly died of gangrene, Jews at that time not being allowed medical attention in concentration camps. He had also reason to believe that his old mother had been taken to Poland two years before.

'This is being written in the solitude of a ward in which I am guarding wrecked members

(2) IN A RUSSIAN PRISON:

(The author was imprisoned by the Soviet Government, and cross-examined. She had been in solitary confinement for several months. In this incident the Prison Governor is visiting the cell.)

In a voice half annoyed, half perplexed he says: 'Surely you should stand up when I come into your cell.' . . .

I am so amazed at never having thought of this before . . . that all I do is to say:

'Does one have to?'

He turns away towards the wall and kicks the wainscoting several times with the toe of his boot. Then in a voice that is hesitant and embarrassed:

'I come here so seldom. Don't you think you might?'

Astonished, I stand up with alacrity. My one desire is to put him at his ease. He turns round and comes towards me. There is only a corner of the table between us. We look at each other. And... we see each other. In the moment's hush that follows we are both present at the eternal miracle, the lightning-quick nativity of human understanding.

I see that it is not only Party discipline that keeps this old and saddened communist from giving up the distasteful work to which he has been appointed. I see that in the unavowed depths of his heart, in the subconscious luminous clarity of it, he knows that it is good and right for him to be Governor of the Palace of Torture, instead of the awful freaks who might be, if he were not. I see him realize with wonder and relief that I am not hostile to him, or to anyone, or anything. The barrier of cruel superficialities has fallen away, and we both know that all things in all eternity will be good and clear between us. If only — *we do not forget.*

And because miracles are sacred and must be veiled, he repeats: 'Any requests?' And I say:

'I forgot to take my sponge with me when I was brought here. Might I have a sponge?'

(From *The Woman Who Could Not Die* by Julia de Beausobre. pp. 88-89.)

(3) A JAPANESE GUARD CONDEMNED TO DEATH

... 'If so it must be!' Hara said calmly, bowing as deeply. 'If so it must be, and thank you for your great kindness and your good coming, and above all for your honourable words.'

Lawrence stood up quickly not trusting his self-control enough to look at Hara again, and started to go, but as he came to the doorway, Hara called out: 'Rorensu!' just as he had once

called it in the commandant's office after Lawrence's week of torture. Lawrence turned and there was Hara grinning widely, faded yellow teeth and gold rims plainly showing as if he had never enjoyed himself more...

But the eyes, Lawrence said, were not laughing. There was a light in them of a moment which transcends lesser moments wherein all earthly and spiritual conflicts tend to be resolved and unimportant, all partiality and incompleteness gone, and only a deep sombre between-night-and-morning glow left. It transformed Hara's strange, distorted features. That rather anthropoidal, pre-historic face of Hara's looked more beautiful than any Lawrence had ever seen. He was so moved by it and by the expression in those archaic eyes that he wanted to turn back into the cell. Indeed he tried to go back but something would not let him. Half of himself, a deep, instinctive, natural, impulsive half, wanted to go back, clasp Hara in his arms, kiss him goodbye on the forehead and say: 'We may not be able to stop and undo the hard old wrongs of the world outside, but through you and me no evil shall come... Between us, we shall cancel out all private and personal evil, thus arrest private and personal consequences to blind action and reaction, thus prevent specifically the general incomprehension and misunderstanding, hatred and revenge of our time from spreading further.' But the words would not be uttered and half of him, the conscious half of the officer at the door with a critical, alert sentry at his side held him powerless on the threshold. So for the last time the door shut on Hara and his golden grin... (From *A Bar of Shadow* by Laurens Van der Post).

This issue of *The New Era* has been prepared, by a committee, at the earnest insistence of Elisabeth Rotten. I do not think it has taken quite the form she had imagined, but I hope she will like it, and will accept it with our love as an eightieth birthday present, on February 15th. [Ed.]

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THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

Preparing a Child for Placement

*A. T. Barron, Psychotherapist to the West Sussex Child Guidance Service and to the L.C.C.
in Coombe Hall School*

THE MODERN SIN committed by parents goes under the name 'rejection'. Many of the sufferings of our children are attributed to the effects of being 'rejected'. As workers in Child Guidance Clinics, we spend a considerable part of our time getting parents to 'accept' their children, — 'acceptance' being seen as the converse of 'rejection'.

Yet despite this concentration of effort upon maintaining the child's relationship with the family, we as clinicians have at times to arrange for a child to be placed away from his or her home. When we do this, we invariably seem to have some feelings of guilt or at least of inadequacy. This guilt can be seen in the sort of critical comments we make about the parents when we recommend 'placement': — 'This child will only be able to develop normally away from his home'; 'Given consistent kindly care, this child will be able to overcome his difficulties.' 'This is an inadequate Mother.' 'This Mother rejects the child', and so on. Such comments reveal clearly the way we are split in our approach to parent and to child. It is of course doubtful if it would be possible in present day conditions to get a child placed unless one makes such a back-hander at the parents.

I will not go into the origins of the split counter-behaviour which probably involves an unconscious identification with the child and the acting out of a fantasy of rescuing him from a wicked parent. I will content myself with the statement that we must learn to view our behaviour towards the parent and child as a unit if we are to help either. Our attitude to the parents is dealt with by Dr. Macrae-Gibson in the next article. I merely wish to draw your attention to the fact that, in arranging for a

child to be placed away from home, we are acting against the main stream of our professional training (and, in so doing emotional factors in us, the workers, come more nearly to the fore); and to remind you that in this area of our work we have to see our response to child and parent as a unit. We cannot throw away the whole of our training and knowledge and pretend that we can help the child without helping the parent. We have passed the period when we could separate mother and child without thought or heart-searching. This is undoubtedly a major step in the right direction — of accepting the natural restriction of our work which is provided by the mother/child unit. This unity we can dilute or modify but we cannot dissolve it.

Neither is it part of my concern here to examine the factors which make it wise to place a child; rather I am concerned with the problem of how to try to ensure that placement is successful when it is carried out.

By whatever means we reach the decision to place a child, by whomever the decision to do so is made, to the *child* — whatever his or her age — it will be the parents who are sending him away and he will believe they are doing so because he is wicked or of no value. To ward off the pain of this true rejection, the child will cling to some impersonal 'reason' for his placement — the flat is too small; 'It's the bloody school sent me away'; 'They (the wicked County Authority) won't let my Mum have me home.' All of you in daily contact with 'placed' children will know these defensive attitudes and the grain of truth they contain.

As a general rule it is possible to say that the more unbalanced the child/parent, parent/child relationship has been, the more aggression

unmodified by tenderness has dominated the child's relationship to the parent, the more will the child unconsciously assume wicked intent on the part of the parent and the more strenuously will he defend himself against this assumption by defensive fantasies after he is placed.

So the first task facing us in preparing the child for placement is to get him to accept the move from home as uncluttered as possible by these defensive fantasies.

How can we do this? Firstly by resisting the temptation (which arises in part from our own guilt feelings and partly as a shield against our perception of the child's anxiety) to offset the child's sorrow and pain at separation by emphasising the joys and pleasure, the opportunities and lovingness of the school or Hostel to which the child is going. This is most important, because the child has enough fantasy about what he will meet at the school. These fantasies of the child's are important and need to be followed carefully and not overlaid by the fantasies of the worker.

The child's fantasies about the school need to be dealt with in a therapeutic setting, for they arise from the depth of his personality and are precipitated by his conflict at leaving the persons who are the object of his emotional strivings. The greatest service we can do for a child at this time is to prepare him to experience again, in relation to new adults and children, the emotions that have so disturbed his functioning and growth when centred within the family.

For example: If he says he fears he will be bullied at the school, examine with him the occasions when he has been bullied in the past; show him that it may be his own aggressive *wishes* which he is now experiencing as fear. If he wants to know whether there will be possibilities to establish emotional ties at the school, do not *please* tell him about the chickens and rabbits and wonderful country life. Show him how he doubts his own capacity to love. Show him his conflict over his feeling that perhaps it will be disloyal to Mother to love another adult. And finally make sure that the reasons for his placement — the fact that Mummy and he work one another up till both

are beside themselves, or whatever it is — is brought out into the open. See to it that he puts into words his anger, sorrow and his secret joy at being sent from home, or his secret sorrow and anger which he avoids by an outward show of joy.

This is of course the work of a psychotherapist and ideally should be done only by or under the direction of a Therapist; but it is difficult for a Therapist to step in to fulfil this one task for a child if he has had little or no previous contact with him. So the job of preparing the child has to be performed by whoever it is who has enough emotional contact with the child; this may be the Social worker, a teacher, the P.S.W. *via* the Mother, or whoever seems the most appropriate person in any given case.

I have often wondered why it is that workers attempt to deal with a child's questions about placement by falling back on the chickens, rabbits, and beautiful countryside. I suppose it is to do with embarrassment, — not unlike that experienced by people who used to meet infants' questions with stories about the stork and the gooseberry bush.

This emphasis on the need for preparation may seem to you the sort of idea psychotherapists have for making work for other people! You may ask, Is it really so necessary? After all many hundreds of children are placed yearly without preparation, can we be so sure it is harmful?. Surely part of the exercise in placing a child is to shake him up a bit — to stop him in his anti-social or other unsatisfactory tracks? Is it not in fact ludicrous talking about the worker's guilt feelings when faced with some hard-boiled adolescent who is without feelings or respect for anyone?. Anyway, whatever a child's unreasonable fears might be before going away, when they are met by the skill of the school staff and the excellent provision made for his comfort by the Committee — well then the morbid state will surely evaporate.

Here are some of the experiences that have led me to believe that the quality of the preparation that the child has before placement can be as important as the quality of care he receives — and perhaps determines the quality of the care he can accept when he is placed:

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I first met this problem in 1941 when I was faced with the unbilletable evacuees. It was quite apparent that the children with a reasonable relationship to their parents were able to adjust to the most difficult situations, but those children who had a markedly inadequate relationship to their parents were unable to adjust even in very favourable conditions. Noble and persistent efforts to find an environment to suit the child failed regularly. No alterations of external reality touched the need of these children. After much heart searching, I set off on a course, which was against the stream of Government policy, of reuniting the child with his family and risking his death from bombing and then re-evacuating him after some careful preparation.

Wartime conditions made it impossible to collect reliable figures, but I formed a strong impression that this technique worked and the handful of cases with whom I have maintained contact certainly demonstrate the validity of this approach.

Later, as the Head of a residential unit for maladjusted boys I was again struck by the fact that those whom we could not help were these who had remained fixated in an emotional clench with their parents. We the workers were pale shadowy figures on the fringe of these children's lives. These children, separated from the parents in fact, continued to live with them hour by hour in fantasy.

Since I qualified in Psychotherapy, it has been my lot to treat a number of children who have failed in many placements — and again I met this problem of the child who experiences all current events in a distorted manner in order to support the fantasies which were set up to defend him against the pain of the separation from the parents.

We are faced with the situation analogous to that of a surgeon — some patients most in need of surgery are too ill to stand it. So with us, some children most in need of placement are too disturbed to stand it. It is the function of preparation to enable the child to stand and benefit from the somewhat expensive operation of placement.

During the past two and half years, the Public Health Department has given me an

opportunity to observe the mental functioning of the boys at Coombe Hall School. I expect most of you know this school and its outstanding Head Master, Mr. Stock, so it is unnecessary for me to emphasise for you the quality of the skill and care extended to each boy in residence there. The staff of Coombe Hall were puzzled by the fact that some boys responded to their care but others were virtually beyond reach of any environmental influence.

This extensive study over the last twenty years has shown me that there is a typical pattern of disturbance for children separated at different periods of their lives.

You are all familiar with the work of Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud in 'Infants in War Time', first published in *The New Era*, on the typical reaction of infants at different ages to separation from the Mother. My own work has been with the older age groups, the fives to fifteens. This period of ten years stretches from the oedipal phase through latency to adolescence.

The most unpromising times to separate a child from its home are during two transitional periods — the first between infancy and latency and the second between latency and puberty. Placement during the first of these danger periods can perhaps be the most damaging to the child.

The factor that makes separation at these periods dangerous is that, during them, the child has a biologically determined urge to free himself to some degree from emotional dependence upon the parents. Normally the child entering latency is able to transform and transfer a remarkable quantity of drive energy from the parents to his school, and at puberty the youth takes a further step and displaces drive energy on to persons nearer his own age. But even in the most normal child, these steps are not taken without a struggle between two opposing forces. The tendency to reduce the intensity of the tie to the parent is opposed by a conservative wish to increase the tie.

Anna Freud in her paper on adolescence in the 13th volume of the *Ps.-A. Study of the Child*, shows how the adolescent mourns for the parents with whom he is breaking his emotional ties. Melanie Klein postulates a depressive

phase in infancy. So the most normal person in the best environment does not experience these transitional periods without stress or without conflict. The maladjusted child tends to get stuck between the major steps in development. But it is not on these considerations that I primarily base my statement that these two periods — around about five and round about eleven — are the danger points for separating a child from his home it is on clinical observations that separation at one of these times does, in continually disturbed children, reverse as it were the course of their development.

What happens is that the physical separation from the Mother or other love object so intensifies the child's tendency to mourn and long for his parents that massive quantities of emotional energy are withdrawn from other areas of the personality and centred on this task — sublimations and defence mechanisms are undone and the emotional life of the child is centred upon this one relationship with an intensity that is self consuming.

Various behaviour patterns can emerge: from the most alarming intensification of symptoms to the apparent cessation of all symptoms.

But whatever the outward signs, it seems that the inner situation is always resolved in the same way. The child, unable to find satisfaction in reality because he is separated from the now intensely desirable Mother, alters part of himself to be like her. Thus we have the situation that the child identifies, with the whole strength of his personality, with that part of the environment from which we sought to spare him by placing him away from home. At the same time he takes a decisive step away from reality-based thinking toward phantasy thinking. The direction of his libido is reversed, — from the normal, gradual lessening of emotional ties with the parents to an intense desire for the closest unity with them. From the point of view of the school and society, the important factor is that these unconscious processes render the child inaccessible to environmental help or influence.

I have painted this picture for you in very strong tones; you may think that I exaggerate.

I can only ask you what are your own experiences with the fifty or sixty per cent. of unresponsive cases in our schools? How many years of work do you find it takes such children to become a whole person? And how many more to enable them to respond with their whole being — with real emotion — to another live and living human being?

Such remedial work is possible but it is

expensive, difficult and the outcome is often doubtful. It is for this reason that I make my plea for the preventative measure that I have termed 'preparation for placement'. The aim of the sort of preparation I have advocated is not to save the child suffering, not to reduce the impact of the placement, but to enable the child to benefit from the measures we, as servants of society, undertake on his behalf.

Preparing Parents for the Placement of their Children

*N. R. Macrae-Gibson M.B., B.S., D.C.H., D.P.M., Psychiatrist to Coombe Hall and Northcroft Schools;
Medical Director, Chipstead Child Guidance Clinic*

MR. BARRON has made his plea that children should be prepared for placement and has based it on first hand clinical observation during twenty years. In attempting to discuss the difficulties from the point of view of the parent, I cannot claim anything like his wide experience of this particular problem of placing children. I have only been Psychiatrist to Coombe Hall Residential School and Northcroft Day School for a year or so, and in charge of a Child Guidance Clinic in Surrey for about three years.

However, there are some points to which I can perhaps draw your attention with advantage. The main one is that just as the child needs preparation for placement, so do both the parents, — and if the child's needs are to a certain extent neglected or tackled too superficially, this is very much more true of the parents. The child doubtless *has* the unconscious problem which Mr. Barron has so clearly demonstrated to us; his parents have equally difficult equivalent ones. If the child needs to be placed away from home, then the relationship between him and his parents must be disturbed — either by reality factors, such as death, illness or divorce, or more commonly, by emotional factors; but in either case emotional disturbances will be present in both the child and his parents, and who is the worse afflicted is by no means certain. In a perhaps parallel problem involving child and parent,

overwhelmed by guilt and remorse and in an access of self directed aggression, Oedipus put out his own eyes; but I do not need to remind you of the far worse self-inflicted fate of Jocasta.

With the perhaps inevitable shortage of psychotherapy-time, it is of course a very lucky child — if one can describe any child for whom placement away from home has ever had to be considered as lucky — who can have the expert help in resolving his placement problems which Mr. Barron has outlined. This is unfortunately even more true of the parents; and, as in the case of the child, it is the worker who has the closest emotional contact with the parents who will be able to do the most useful job with them, provided he has a keen recognition of the factors under discussion. Part, at least, of this preparation should perhaps be done by those who will have to look after the child after placement. Perhaps this may be possible only in the final stages, just before he comes to the school; but even so, some rewards will follow from what can be attempted then. These remarks apply both when the child is coming direct from home and when he is coming from some other residential placement such as Reception Centre or Remand Home.

I do not think I need labour the point that we should try to avoid placement away from home if possible — this is, one believes, generally accepted now, so that one is not

surprised to reflect that perhaps the most disturbed children are in Day Maladjusted schools — not Residential ones at all. Therefore the former need trained personnel capable of dealing with parents — for example Psychiatric Social Workers — even more urgently than do the latter, not *vice versa*, as authority at present seems to believe.

Once we accept the fact that the parent-child symbiosis is of great emotional significance and that we should be attempting to maintain and improve it even if we have to separate the two physical organisms for the time being, then we must recognize that some damage will be done to the parents by this separation, which may produce emotional strains and suffering for them during the period of separation, may vitiate their co-operation with the boarding school, and may eventually make more difficult the emergence of a satisfactory mutual acceptance by each other of parents and children as competent adults.

The child who cannot break his emotional clinch with his parents — to use Mr. Barron's expressive phrase — has a parent or parents who also need this clinch and cannot tolerate its ending.

The parents are of course aware of a great number of problems related to placing their child and some preparation in which these can be sympathetically discussed is generally accepted as ideal, even though the ideal is I fear not often adequately honoured; but it is the unconscious problems which we are considering now. By adequate preparation parents can be enabled to face these, for they, as well as the more obvious problems, can be dealt with on a reality basis.

One is constantly tempted to collude with a parent's wish to deny these problems; this must be resisted. The problems will tend to be greatest when it is the parents themselves who are mainly responsible for the tensions which finally result in placement. It is particularly difficult when there are step-, adoptive-, or foster-parents; a natural parent who is the spouse of such a substitute parent is perhaps beset with the most difficult circumstances of all. And of course, the greater the degree of mental illness or instability in the parents the

greater their difficulties are likely to be.

The parents will inevitably feel that they have failed completely. This can produce the 'over to you' attitude: — 'It's your turn now and no longer anything to do with us.' Their guilt may produce an increase in their punitive attitude to the child, either verbally or in letters; on the other hand it may produce over-compensatory spoiling, with secret extra pocket money, or — particularly perhaps — cigarettes, even though they know that these are not allowed.

They may fear that someone else will oust them from their place in their children's love, which itself may well be in its intensity a pathological relationship. They may develop the same rationalizations that Mr. Barron has described in the children — blaming the school, the clinic doctor, or the County Council for the placement which they themselves have demanded, and consequently inducing in themselves and in their children aggressive behaviour towards those whom they now blame.

They may accuse the school of causing the aggression which the child shows, forgetting his previous aggressive behaviour, or never having been able to recognize it in the symptoms he originally presented.

Parents may also develop grieving reactions for what now seems to them like the loss of their children; reactions out of all proportion to the actual separation. Just as the grieving of the placed child has its parallel in the mourning phase of the normal adolescent and the de-

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pressive phase of the infant, of which Mr. Barron has reminded us, so the grieving of the parents we are considering is mirrored in everyday life — humorously by that poem of Ogden Nash's 'Song to be sung by the Fathers of Infant Female Children', and rather more seriously by such irrational everyday situations as the bride's mother's tears at the wedding; or, approaching our situation more nearly, her whispered assurance to her daughter that 'if it doesn't work you can always come home to Mummy.'

Thus the parent of the child who has been placed, but whose conflicts over this have not

been resolved by adequate preparation or subsequent work, may well, although she begged for the placement, actually collude in his failure to return to school from a weekend at home.

Mr. Barron has said that the aim of the preparation of the child is primarily to enable him to benefit from the placement; but just as the preparation of the child cannot be separated from the preparation of the parents, so enabling the child *and* the parents to benefit from his or her placement cannot be separated from saving both the child and the parents from avoidable suffering.

Alternatives to Television

J. L. Woolf, Assistant, the Course for the Teaching of Maladjusted Children, London University.

MR. R. A. BUTLER has recently appealed to various organizations to assist him in his drive against criminal and delinquent activities. In calling upon Television Authorities, he brought to my mind an experiment carried out at Boxmoor House, a residential school for senior maladjusted boys, and perhaps an account of that experiment may show that many children willingly seize upon indoor activities or games as an alternative to indiscriminate television viewing.

Television had become like a drug to our boys — they would do anything in order to preserve their viewing time and to gain an extension of it. This is a description of how they were weaned from television into activities that countered the attraction of continuous viewing. At no time was television banned or curtailed and there were programmes such as *Gun Law*, *The Four Just Men*, *Wrestling* and the like that continued to be in demand by a few boys.

The weaning started gradually; chess became quite a popular activity and with it draughts. The boards were laid out by a member of the staff and helpers; a dartboard made its appearance and comics from our 'rain' set (old comics) were made available. It soon became obvious that a few of the boys welcomed these token diversions from or alternatives to

television, but these games provided too limited a choice and demanded far too much concentration — except for the darts. Darts held the senior boys firmly. The idea of doing something apart from television, however, was seed sown on fertile ground, and one boy brought back from a home-visit a Monopoly Game. The demand was immediate — arguments raged — friends were made and lost nightly by the owner of the game, and week-ends became Monopoly week-ends; breakfast, lunch, tea and supper came and went but Monopoly went on and on and the game was left over-night to be continued in the morning.

This single game swept chess and draughts away like magic! It became increasingly obvious that these 'big games' would be the answer to the television. Two old sets of Monopoly were brought from forgotten play-boxes belonging to staff, but concerning these sets the orders were firm: — 'These do not belong to the school nor to you; they belong to members of the staff; if you want to use them, look after them.' The staff were surprised by the care with which these old games were treated. *Garry*, for example, has a long history of carelessness, untidiness and destruction; he has a very limited intelligence, but he soon acquired the necessary knowledge to play Monopoly rather well, and he learned to

control his excitement although he would occasionally break out into whoops and shouts of delight, particularly if staff landed on Mayfair and collected a hotel bill. Staff were always offered time to pay but such offers were never accepted, and staff never offered such facilities to other players. Staff always played to win and this the boys quickly appreciated, and they didn't always win.

The shortage of Monopoly games, however, was still acute and this led to quite an interesting occupation. *Michael John* (I.Q. 140 — aged 12), decided to make a Monopoly game and board and, within a week, boys of all ages and intelligence were demanding cardboard, rulers, pencils and colours and sheets of thin coloured board for the cards; balsa wood houses, painted and unpainted, were made and even wooden dice were produced and the boys made the traditional symbols for the game. Staff did not treat such enthusiasm for reading, writing etc. as an opportunity to incorporate these activities into lesson time. If anything, they regarded such activities as a form of unconscious homework and helped out when requested. The numbers watching television were now dwindling, but also Monopoly was beginning to lose some of its interest for some of the boys. Chess and draughts began to re-appear and Ludo enjoyed a short lived popularity. Staff meanwhile were offered another Monopoly set and a game of 'Totopoly' for ten shillings, and shortly afterwards acquired a new big game called 'Risk'. A week later, staff acquired another Monopoly game and one called 'Careers' and the final drive against television began.

'Risk' completely dominated the popularity of the other games — it is a war game played on a fairly accurate map of the world (as far as continents are concerned) and involves the use of dice and armies. It demands the ability to plan attacks and yet maintain adequate defences. It calls for the use of intelligence as well as luck with the dice. Staff and boys sat down to learn this game and the other boys watched. It became utterly ruthless — players made pacts and turned treacherous, angry accusations were made but the fascination of the game held. One lad *Henry* (I.Q. 135 — aged

10), lost his temper once or twice because he was losing and the boys refused to play with him. Thus he learned, to a great extent, that such behaviour excluded him from the game. He learned his lesson but had a hard job to win his way back into the group.

With the gradual introduction of various big games, interest in television began to wane considerably and lads began to write home asking their parents to buy them a certain game. Into the school came the Risks, Monopolys and Cricket and Football games, until a wide variety was available; and because staff had been generous in the beginning, these games became fairly freely available for everybody's enjoyment. Staff stressed however, that the owner's permission had to be obtained before the game was played. The drug-like attraction of television became a thing of the past except for three boys, and even these entered sometimes into the playing of the games, particularly when staff added 'Buccaneer' to the collection.

As I have said earlier, it was not the aim of the staff to cut out television entirely; what happened in fact, was that the staff would discuss the evening's television with the boys and they would select the programmes they would like to see. The lads then chose the games they were going to play; with a little help from staff, groups wanting to watch a programme played together and then went into television and could continue the game after the programme. This was the theory, but in practice television was forgotten in the interest of the game, and even if staff warned them of the time, they chose to continue their game. Finally, television played a very small part in the evenings, although the three boys were faithful to it for ever.

There was a nucleus of boys however, whose interest was not held by the games, and who no longer wanted to watch television. These boys seemed unable to accept the challenge thrown out by the games and they sought solitude in various odd corners. A woman member of the staff opened her small classroom and lit the fire. Here boys drifted to find a warm cosy atmosphere. Materials for drawing, painting, sewing, woolcrafts, scrapbooks, model-

ling, individual project work were made available, and boys gathered in twos and threes to talk, some to read quietly, whilst some would gather round the record player to listen to quietly played classical music. Thus it was that children were weaned from heavy doses of television into interests and activities and games that they enjoyed — some creative, some competitive — whilst others found the opportunity just to read or talk in a peaceful and restful atmosphere — a very satisfying atmosphere within an organized community.

The school has in residence, 30 boys. They are drawn from various backgrounds, socially and economically — the age range is 10–16 years, the I.Q. range is scattered from the low eighties to 145. The emotional age-range is as widely diversified as the I.Q. range. These, then, were the boys who had been weaned from television. Approximate figures show that: 50 per cent. played the games regularly; 40 per cent. sought the activities of the small

classroom; and 10 per cent. stuck to television.

From these approximations the staff believe that, in giving the boys interesting pursuits and the challenge of the big games, they have given them a chance to enjoy a happy period which will be a support to them now and of value to them in later life. The big games must be played to rules; there must be an acceptance of them by each and every player; in that alone lies a willing conformity. In actual play the individual has the experience of wielding power — to his good or not; here in the play situation his future in the game depends on himself; this must afford a welcome relief to those who have always had to rely on others in the chaos of their own lives; every player will at some time or another experience success, partial success or defeat, and learn to accept them and recognize them, and finally each game is played by a group and, if staff happen to be part of the group, then there is a valuable relationship with the adult world.

Ten Years of Art Therapy

W. E. R. Mons, Consultant Psychiatrist, St. Marylebone Hospital for Psychiatry and Child Guidance

THE PATIENTS' ART ROOM developed out of the Occupational Therapy department, which most of the progressive mental hospitals consider an absolute necessity for the treatment and rehabilitation of the mentally sick. There is a time for rest, and a time for activity; a decisive moment arrives when inactivity begins to exert a traumatic effect. The tedium of life in a ward no longer glances off the patient's armour of self-absorption, but irritates him in his recovered awareness of the world around him. He is conscious of being useless, condemned to a vegetative existence little different from that of a pet animal. Perhaps he sees his psychiatrist once a week for half an hour, and he may, of course, read. But, unless there is a department for occupational therapy, he cannot exercise his newly returned drive to create. It is not so many years ago that frustrated patients fought for the privilege of being allowed to water the Superintendent's prize vegetable marrow.

In many hospitals, art as an occupation is one

of the means by which the patient learns once more to concentrate, to persevere, to create, and to regain confidence in his inherent powers which the effect of his illness has destroyed. But art as therapy goes far beyond this aim. It has become the vehicle of the patient's self-expression, a language supplementing or even replacing speech. The imagery of which dreams are made arises from the store-room of the troubled unconscious and finds its way through the pencil, the brush, or the clay. Into this projected world of his conflicts the patient gradually tries to bring order; he attempts solutions and finds adaptations where words have failed.

The concept of the unconscious is of recent origin, and we still stand only on the threshold of a correct understanding of the utilization of it. For the psychiatrist, the interpretation of the patient's artistic efforts is often as difficult as the assessment of the Rorschach Test. Man's unconscious often proves an embarrassment to the psychiatrist, and it would be tempting to

ignore this inconvenient factor. It would be a relief to be able to escape into a more mechanistic conception of man, and to regress once more into the simpler world of Pavlov's conditioned reflexes. But we cannot deny knowledge the right to progress: yesterday we discovered that man had conditioned reflexes, to-day that he has an unconscious, and to-morrow, as likely as not, he may be proved to have a soul as well.

The essential difference between occupational and art therapy is that the scope of the former is limited to rehabilitation, while the latter combines rehabilitation with an analysis of the traumatic forces.

When the patient arrives for the first time in the art room he is usually self-conscious and embarrassed, and goes to great lengths to explain that he has never used brush and paint in his life, that he cannot draw, and that all this seems to him a ridiculous waste of time. He finally condescends to give a demonstration of his ignorance by dipping the wetted brush in one of the cups of paint powder and smearing it over the grey wrapping paper before him. The results are a few haphazard streaks and squiggles which he views with obvious satisfaction as just the sort of thing one should have expected of him. His secret hopes of being turned out of the class as untalented are, however, dashed to the ground when the teacher fails to make any comment, and merely encourages him to continue. In his determination to show up the folly of psychiatry he then spends the rest of the session executing a rapid series of similarly senseless smears. At the next sitting, he may set out to repeat this performance, but he very soon becomes bored with the strain of it. Some taste for colours asserts itself, and he combines them according to his mood. His brush receives direction, even if only to aim diagonally or transversely across the sheet. He begins to take a surreptitious interest in the result, while outwardly maintaining his noncommittal attitude. From this moment on, his development usually follows one of three major directions.

1. *Representational art*: The patient begins to enjoy drawing guileless pictures representing actual objects. If he prefers modelling, he may

start by forming simple utensils of clay. He paints houses and trees, men and animals, all in the artless manner of a child. As his skill improves his ambition increases, and he aims at producing 'pretty pictures'. Longing and frustration are frequently expressed in romantic scenery, idealized landscapes, or sentimental sunsets, all painted in a manner meant to resemble nature as closely as his capacities permit.

2. *Abstract art*: Here the patient becomes absorbed in the purely decorative effect of what he is doing. He is averse to betraying his incompetence by attempting a house or a tree, but he can trust his hand to draw a reasonably straight line or curve. He may produce a simple pattern with a series of straight lines to which he adds dots of different colour. Gradually these patterns become more complex, though they retain their repetitive character and resemble wall-paper or curtain material. Other patients, specially those who prefer the curve to the straight line, create decorative designs which lack this characteristic repetition. We find ourselves in a world of ideas and emotions expressed in abstract art. This is by no means restricted to paint as a medium for expression: clay is equally popular with these abstract artists, because many notions are more readily represented in a three dimensional form.

3. *Symbolic Pictorial art*: To this group belong the Salvador Dalis of the art room, and it is undoubtedly the largest. The patient combines representational with abstract art to lend a dream-like character to the picture which expresses the problems of his inner life. This requires a certain skill, though even a childish hand can achieve a semblance of the things which fill the mind. Instead of the pretty picture so dear to the frustrated individual we find here far more often a graphic expression of the fears and horrors of his own particular world. Many patients find clay an ideal medium for this purpose. In it the body may be represented confined behind unsurmountable obstacles, the soul trapped or the ego menaced by hostile forces. In clay he can equally well shape the objects of his sexual desire.

This sketchy account of the development of the patient's self-expression leads us to the

question of the purpose served by these activities. The psychiatric patient is a person who is unable to cope adequately with reality, and who lives in a world of distorted values; artistic projection of this world gives it a visible form. The neurotic over-estimates potential dangers and under-estimates his own capacities; the hysteric flees from his fears into a false assessment of his own powers; the depressive sees his world hopelessly doomed; the schizophrenic cannot distinguish between the world of his fantasy and that of fact. In every case there is a faulty object-relationship, and it is just this which is brought closer to the surface through art, however primitive. What appears on paper or in clay serves a need to communicate, and to understand as well as to be understood. Throughout his period in the art room the patient struggles to come to terms with the two worlds, that of fantasy and that of reality. These can be expressed in their interaction far better visually than verbally, particularly when he has learnt to let himself be guided by his impulses, and to create in an almost uncritical way what his intuition dictates.

Even without the help of the psychiatrist's interpretation he can very often discover the deeper meaning of his picture, follow the trend of development as one picture follows another, and so understand the nature of some of his problems. Through art he can also abreact emotional situations: he paints the hated father and obliterates him with a coat of black; he moulds an image of his rival brother and then breaks it into pieces; he forms the female with the dreaded *vagina dentata*, and makes her harmless; or shapes a devil only to smash him on the floor.

But most of all, I think, he wants to communicate with his psychiatrist by these means. He brings his work to the psychiatrist not only to get praise for his efforts, but to show what his hand has produced almost against his will. It is to his psychiatrist that he turns for reassurance and guidance, particularly when his problems are beginning to break through to the surface. One revealing picture can save many long hours of analytic searching for a hidden conflict. Apart from their patent content, many

of these efforts also contain a mass of cryptographic material which is invaluable though the psychiatrist will naturally exercise his judgment on the question of what and how much of this to tell the patient.

Even when the work seems to lack all symbolism and never rises above a banal level, it is related to the patient's progress. Here the art teacher is the authority to whom the psychiatrist turns in order to assess the significance of the changes which the pictures or models have undergone in the course of time. It is the art teacher who can make a fair prediction as to the quality of work a patient is likely to produce after a number of hours of practice, taking into account the degree of natural talent brought to the task. One of the difficulties in judging or interpreting the total significance of a work is that of separating artistic effect based on skill from its therapeutic meaning. The interpretation of patients' art has its parallel in that of dreams, but is simplified by the large element of consciousness which directs it. Unless he is grossly detached from reality, the patient is able to render an account of the motives for most of the pictorial details. The factors which enter his blind spot are usually the peculiarities characteristic of his work, such as their developmental trend through the months, the repetition of curious symbolisms, and cryptographic material.

We have seen that all the work can be classified broadly into three types: representational, abstract, and symbolic-pictorial. In each of these categories the individual shows characteristics of craftsmanship and conception which are significant. He shows changes which indicate the course of his inner development, of progress and setback, of temporary upsets and states of euphoria. He may suddenly move from one type to another: e.g. after a series of patterns he may paint faces. His affinity to colour in general or to specific colours can be studied; for instance, his preference for blues and greens, or for reds and yellows. One patient may see the world in black, another may cover sheet after sheet with vivid pink, in an attempt to counteract depression. In the course of treatment even colour affinity may change, and a better adaptation is often suggested by a

wider range and better balance of colours. In clay modelling other general trends appear. The work of some patients will always look solid, compact, and stable, while that of others will invariably be delicate, fragile, and 'wind-swept'; some seem unable to get away from the hollow object, while others give a phallic character to whatever they try to do.

With all this the Child Guidance psychiatrist is of course familiar. The child says in picture form what it cannot express in words, and this language is an essential means of communication between child and psychiatrist. Art therapy is thus no novelty; the surprising thing is that it receives so little recognition as part of the essential equipment of hospitals and clinics dealing with adults who have largely regressed to childhood attitudes and behaviour. The art department should be as integral a part of modern treatment as that devoted to E.C.T. It should be housed in premises designed for the purpose, with daylight and adequate space. It must be remembered that we are dealing with the mentally sick and their peculiarities of maladjustment, and that many of them cannot tolerate crowded rooms. For some it is a necessity to work in relative isolation, especially at first, so that even the most primitive art department must consist of at least two rooms, the larger to be occupied by the socially better-adjusted and the smaller by those requiring a semblance of privacy.

In addition there must be a store-room for materials, for the finished works, and for the kiln in which the clay is baked and glazed. The attitude of the patient towards his achievements must be taken into consideration: he is as proud and possessive with regard to them as any art student, so that to treat them lightly, to tear or break them, can have a traumatic effect. Furthermore, every artist likes to exhibit his work and, while the patient is gratified by the psychiatrist's inspection, he is spurred to even greater efforts when something he has made is included in one of the periodical displays. For this purpose the art rooms themselves, with the corridors and landings of the clinic are usually sufficient, provided that the pottery can be distributed safely in niches or on window-sills.

Apart from the kiln, the equipment for an art department need not be costly: cheap brushes, rags for wiping them, grey packing paper, jam jars for water, and a supply of water-colour powder such as is used in elementary schools; a barrel or two of clay, modelling tables, glazing powders, and a few simple wooden spatulas.

And, last but not least, a word about the functions of the keystone of the department, the art therapist. He must combine commonsense with infinite patience and gentleness. He must be trained in art, because from him the patient expects all the technical answers that bother the beginner: how to use a brush, what to do with the coloured powder and the water, how to keep the clay moist, how to mend mistakes, how to prepare a figurine for the kiln, how to glaze it. In other respects he needs to be less an art teacher than a therapist who coaxes the shy or unwilling patient into making an effort, soothes ruffled tempers, listens to endless complaints, organizes groups of kindred spirits and separates disturbing elements from the herd. In an art school the teacher's patience may be tried by the artistic temperament of his class, but in an art therapy department he is dealing with neurotics, schizophrenics, and depressives whose temperaments often exceed anything a college of arts could muster. Though the choice of the patient attending the art class is in the hands of the treating psychiatrist, it is often impossible for him to visualize the impact of his patient upon others or theirs on him.

Close co-operation between teacher and psychiatrist is essential. Of nearly five hundred patients who have passed through the department, all but five per cent. have profited in one way or another. For a great many it has also been the beginnings of a new interest and hobby.

It must be remembered that the function of the art department is only in part that of effecting a cure, and that it affords an integral part of the relationship with the psychiatrist. The information gained by studying the patient's work can be an invaluable short-cut to the correct diagnosis and treatment.

Creative Conflict in School

Grace Eldridge. Headmistress, New Parks. Secondary Girls Modern School, Leicester

IN HER RECENT article on *Creative Conflict in School*, Mrs Langdon makes special reference to the early formative years of childhood and the social conflicts which are an inevitable part of growing up. Much of what she has said is valid also for the later years, and I would like therefore to consider briefly some of the points she raises as I personally have observed them in dealing with the 11–15 age group.

The school situation presents us with many examples of conflict inherent in it, but for the purpose of this note, I will confine myself to three groups: Conflict between peers (children); conflict between teachers and children; conflict between teachers.

Conflict between peers takes on a new form in the 11–15 age group. Underneath all the sophistication there is still the need for the attention and approval of the teacher, but it may be wrapped up in a new way. One problem girl of 14 took exception to what she considered to be the teacher's rejection of her, and said that it was because the teacher was jealous of her, of her good looks, her numerous boy-friends etc. . . .

External as well as internal pressures intensify the need to provide evidence of boy-friends. If in reality boy-friends are lacking, the young girl will provide her own evidence in the shape of rings, tokens, letters and even 'love-bites'. When the boy-friend is a fact and not a myth, the girl may become extremely possessive, often to the point of fool-hardiness. While she will willingly 'share' Cliff Richards or Elvis Presley, she will sometimes fight quite literally for the boy next door or for the eighteen year old at work.

With so much material being built back into the school from the society it serves, it takes a wise and discriminating teacher to unravel these complexities, and to see that what appears to be a classic disciplinary problem is not so much a young girl pitting herself against authority, parental or school, but rather, a young girl growing up and torn asunder by conflicting

demands and pressures. Often when she is involved in the classroom situation, the young teacher cannot see that it is not a personal assault that is being made. It is just that there are explosive forces at work and she happens to be in the way of them.

Sometimes a disciplinary problem is referred to me, and I listen in the first instance to a lengthy account of how 'somebody took my pen' or 'smudged my work', or 'she's not my friend any more. I don't like her. She said things about me.' After a period of mutual quiet, I say, 'And what is it really all about?' And as often as not I get the real answer:

'Well, she went out with Ray last night, and I got mad, so I took her book, and then she took my pen, and then I hit her . . .'

One of the worst things a girl can say about a teacher is 'Oh, she doesn't understand. You can't talk to her.' To the girl, the teacher appears to be 'different', 'posh', standoffish, representing values which are remote from the life she knows. To the teacher on the other hand the girl may appear to be selfish, insolent and intolerant of personal weakness which seems to be explored quite ruthlessly.

The problem in the classroom repeats itself in the staffroom and in the corporate life of the school. At the adult level, roles are also played out and rivalries, jealousies and strivings become apparent. Much of this will find its outlet in healthy exchange of classroom stories or techniques, but if these conflicts are to become creative, indirect and casual exchange is not enough. The general structure of the school must not only permit and recognise conflict, but must be a dynamic agent in turning it into constructive channels.

What factors are necessary for this achievement?

Many conflicts at all levels arise because one party is not fully in the picture; contributory factors may be differences of experience, perception and understanding. Communication is thus a first essential and to establish it is a vital duty of the head of any school.

How can the staff know what the head's aims are if he does not tell them? How can the head know what the staff are trying to do if he is not communicable with? If he believes that all individuals have something to contribute, then he must find a time and place where exchange is made possible. Communication of this order will thus be seen to be a deep awareness rather than formal passing on of decisions already made, and will pay high dividends in terms of richer and deeper understanding between persons.

Similarly, in the classroom, the way to communication must be kept open. It is obviously not feasible or proper to discuss every point of policy with the pupils, but some communication of intention is both wise and feasible if deeper levels of communication are to be achieved.

Our fourth years have the privilege of staying in to dance during the mid-morning break. This year with 300 of them it became impossible to allow them all in every day. It would have been very simple to issue a direct order and to say that they could stay in on alternate days, but instead I held council with them and asked them what they would do in the circumstances.

They explored other avenues first and then finally agreed that alternate days would provide the best solution. But who was to go in each day? We have 8 fourth year forms, four 'A's, and four 'B's. It would have been folly on my part to suggest such a clear cut answer. Finally, the girls own solution was adopted:

DAY 1 A¹ A³ B¹ B³.
DAY 2 A² A⁴ B² B⁴.

Finally, if staff themselves are having experience in this kind of communication, if they are being kept aware of human values, it is much more likely that they will pass on such values to their pupils, using probably the same methods. In these circumstances I have found that classroom discussion of vitality and depth has grown amazingly in the last year or two, and I think it is true to say that a number of us really do know what the girls are thinking, feeling and experiencing.

If a school is liberally conceived, it will recognise, permit, and come to terms with conflict at all levels, and if these conflicts are creative, so too will be the school.

News and Notes

English Section

IN THE PROVISION of meetings, 1961 has been the most active ENEF year for some time, and yet our fortunes in this period have been mixed. As foreshadowed in the 1960 Report, our Council drew up a Spring and Autumn programme of talks, all but one of which were given in the new Council Room at Peto Place.

At the Institute of Education in March, Dr. Terence Morris, Lecturer in Sociology at the London School of Economics, led a most instructive discussion on certain aspects of delinquency, and in April Mr. Asher Tropp, also of the London School of Economics opened the first of our meetings in Peto Place with a thought-provoking talk on *Industrial Man and the Problem of Identity*. Between these meetings we had a house-warming party to initiate the new room, when our Chairman and Council

were At Home to any members able to drop in.

Five talks were given in the Autumn. Miss Stella Mead spoke on *Books for Children*, and Mrs. Caroline Nicholson on *Communication between Adult and Adolescent*, an address which opened up a discussion lasting well into the evening. Unfortunately, Miss Seonaid Robertson was prevented by an accident from giving her talk on *Brazil's Solution to Racial Problems*, but we look forward to seeing her illustrations and hearing her talk at a later date. Subsequent talks were given respectively by Dr. James Hemming on *Sexual Values in Transition*, and by Miss Grace Greiner on *Films Made in School*, the latter talk being illustrated by two excellent films made by young people.

However, the Peto Place meetings are not the only ENEF activities in London. The School and Community Group centred on Wandsworth School under the leadership of

Mr. Raymond King, has now entered upon its seventh year. During 1961 it held five meetings. The first, in February, at Elliott School was concerned with the Beloe Report and the nature, incidence and control of examinations other than the G.C.E. for secondary school pupils.

In March at Garrett Green School, the Group discussed the Welfare Services in relation to the Schools, and evidence was heard from the Children's Officer, the Probation Officer, and the Youth Service Officer. This theme was continued in June at the Elliott School. At the fourth meeting, in early November at Wandsworth School, members discussed the theme of the 1962 Year Book of Education, the educational care of the gifted child with particular regard to what could be done by the comprehensive school for pupils with special talents, whether scholastic, artistic, musical, dramatic, or in social and athletic fields.

This discussion was continued at the end of November at Mayfield School in the light of the L.C.C. Survey of 16 London Comprehensive Schools, including Elliott and Wandsworth, two schools immediately associated with the Group. Discussion powerfully supported the Crowther conclusion that there are great resources of talent hitherto untapped and that the conception of a restricted 'pool of ability' needs to be much modified in the light of the results of a more comprehensive organization of secondary education.

The ENEF Group in Leicester has also had a busy year, beginning and ending with invitations to the Commonwealth Teachers' Group to meet members. On both occasions views were exchanged with teachers from Asia, Africa, China and Hong Kong on teaching methods, and on various educational problems. Other meetings included a Forum on *Education after Eleven Years*, and talks on *The Needs of the Nursery Child — Are they being met?*; *Bantu Education, Past and Present*; and *The Educationally Sub-normal Child and his Teacher*.

Further North, I must record the failure of our attempt to hold our summer conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The theme *Man's Changing View of Himself* was a continuation of that discussed at our Annual Meeting last

January. A notable team of speakers and group leaders was built up, a local committee was consulted from the start of the project, wide publicity was given throughout the Northern counties, and yet not a single enrolment, not even one enquiry, reached us from North of the Tees outside our own membership.

Our relations with other educational bodies have been well maintained. The teachers' professional organizations have continued to give us their support and to send representatives to our Council. Amongst the bodies on which we are represented are The Council for Visual Education, The Joint Council (formed by the Society for Education through Art, ourselves and other interested bodies), The British Committee of the Association for Early Childhood Education, the National Book League, and our good friends Education Services. Our close and cordial association with this charitable trust continues, as does the generous financial support it gives us. Co-operation continues in the matter of group methods of communication, and it is hoped to launch an enquiry this year amongst a number of people, ENEF members included, who have experience in this field.

Closest of all, of course, are our relationships with our parent body, the NEF. Once more many ENEF members have given special support to the international work by renewing their Goodwill Membership subscriptions, and the English Section has given the second of its three special grants of £150 promised at Delhi. Although the NEF's plan to send an international team of Seminar leaders to African countries this year has had to be postponed to 1963, its work in other directions is progressing. Enquiries about individual membership are coming in from the African continent, and it is hoped that this year a new Section will be formed in Greece, and perhaps in Eritrea also. Two projects for which UNESCO has granted contracts to International Headquarters are perhaps of special interest to ENEF members — a project on Adult/Adolescent Communication, which will be in the hands of Professor J. W. Tibble of Leicester, and another on teacher training aspects of UNESCO's East/West Major Project, which will involve a meeting of

specialists from many countries next April at the University of London Institute of Education under the chairmanship of Professor Lauwerys.

Since October, our retiring Chairman, Miss A. E. Martin, has been in India and in New Zealand, and will shortly be in Australia. To all our friends in these countries she bears greetings from the ENEF. I should like to thank her most warmly for her hard work and generous support during her two-year period of office, and the other members of Council for their help and consideration throughout a difficult year. As usual the brunt of the office work has fallen on Miss Moyse, and to her also I am in much debt. Special mention too should be made of the band of helpers who have provided refreshments at the Peto Place meetings.

It is both a pleasure and privilege to record that the ENEF has been honoured by Mr. Joseph Compton's acceptance of the Council's invitation to become one of our Vice-Presidents. As a former Chairman, and for many years a member, of the ENEF, Mr. Compton is especially welcome. Members will have an opportunity of hearing him speak on a subject

dear to his heart — *The Spoken Word in Schools* — at Peto Place on the 18th of this month.

In a world much rent by nationalism, and at a time when every country has its own immense educational problems, members of the NEF cannot be indifferent to the efforts of those bodies of which the Fellowship is one, concerned with making bridges and seeking the resolution of difficulties by peaceful means. It must be our constant hope and concern that the Fellowship's work in 1962 will prosper. Early this year, our Council will have to consider, amongst other matters relating to our international work, a draft Agenda for a meeting of the NEF International Council to be held in Holland next July, when decisions, postponed at the Delhi meeting in 1960, will have to be taken. Important challenges and opportunities face the NEF. This will certainly be a busy year for those in office in all our Sections, and not least for us in England. I hope we may continue to receive the full support of our members, and their understanding wherever we may fall short in our endeavours.

J. B. Annand, Secretary

Book Reviews

Training for Teaching - J. E. Sadler and A. N. Gillett. (George Allen and Unwin 21/-)

A young teacher in his second year in school said to me recently, 'But surely you don't believe the educational ideas you put before your students? They don't work in school.' He said this despite the fact that he himself was applying in school many of the theories that are being discussed in Training Colleges all over the country.

This book, described by its authors as a study guide, is an attempt to provide an overall look at the content of an education course suitable for Training Colleges. It seeks to help students by providing an introduction to the complex studies involved, and by showing a way to further thought, work and discussion. The authors feel that some of the semantic confusion in which the young teacher was involved had been caused by too rigid an approach through lectures and textbooks, and by differ-

ences of opinion being glossed over in the interests of simplicity. They feel that education has tended to be studied at a somewhat superficial level.

In compiling the book the authors have not attempted to usurp the role that the education tutor must play. Indeed each chapter is followed by sections of material for discussion and an extensive book list. The student is thus enabled to discuss each section within his college education groups and to follow up with suitable reading whatever aspect of the topic most appeals to him. The guidance of a tutor to help him select will remain essential. Throughout the book one is aware that the authors hold to the view that a tentative approach to education, which withholds final judgements and questions assumptions, has great value. The emphasis that is placed on the follow up discussion strengthens this view and increases its value for the students who will use the book.

Nevertheless any book that attempts to deal with education overall must be open to the very charge of superficiality that the authors are trying to overcome. The difficulty is to decide on the criteria by which the attempt should be judged. There are six general sections dealing with Planning and Organizers, The Teachers, The Children, Learning, The Curriculum and Aims. Obviously a section on 'Learning', even though it occupies nearly a third of the book, is not going to be able to deal satisfactorily with the topic in depth. A psychologist reading this section might be inclined to dismiss it as muddled and lacking in reference to the standard authorities. But it deals with a difficult field of study and there is no short cut to an understanding of these topics. The authors have probably attempted to compress too much into too small a space. The result is that the style is clotted, making a difficult matter even more difficult. Indeed first year students, asked to read this section, found it

extremely hard to understand the chapters on 'Perception' and 'Forming Concepts', even with considerable tutorial assistance.

The criterion that might be considered therefore is whether the book is of value in developing student attitudes to education as a whole. A further criterion might be whether the matters discussed bear any relevance to the ways that the theory of education can be applied in school.

On the whole it is remarkably successful. With the exception of the section on 'Learning' discussed above, all the sections are written in a clear and stimulating manner. Both first year and mature students found them interesting and showed an increasing understanding of the subjects presented. Perhaps the outstanding section is the one dealing with 'The Children', where miracles of compression and selection in Child Development, Individual Differences and Social Growth are carried out. The resulting outline is one that gives exactly the sort of theoretical background against which the students' own experiences with children, in school and out of school, can be clearly placed. The authors have made certain that the student is asked to think of every matter in this, and in every other section for that matter, in relation to practice in schools. Constant reference in the main body of the text and in the discussion material to examples taken from schools helps to give reality to the theories. Both student and young teacher could benefit from this.

However, a great danger of an overall guide book of this nature is that the student might think of it as a sort of Panglossia. It is notoriously difficult to encourage student reading. A handy guide such as this, in the hands of the wrong student, might be a positive discouragement, despite the authors' good intentions. So much must depend on the attitudes that the tutor has been able to arouse in his students. A mature student commented that this book would be ideal for revision. This could be a two-edged compliment.

A further difficulty that arises out of the global approach adopted is that each subject tackled should be related to all the others. The study of education is being increasingly thought of as an integrated one. We even hear certain circles talking of Education as the new *subject*! This relation of the chapters is exceedingly difficult, and one had hoped that the section on 'Aims' might have attempt-

ed to stress some of the underlying assumptions. The educational philosophy behind the ideas is referred to in passing in many of the chapters, but any attempt to relate them to a possible whole conception is avoided in the last somewhat sketchy chapter. It may well be argued that this is the job of the education tutor. This is, of course, true; but if the book is to be a guide to study, more approaches need to be suggested to give the student some wider knowledge of the immense problems implicit in all educational thought.

However this bold and enterprising book is attempting to cover a field that has hardly been written about in this way before. It deserves reading carefully by all education lecturers who might consider ways and means of introducing it to their students as a fruitful source book. Heads of schools might well read it too. Not only would they learn from it themselves, but by bringing it to the notice of their young teachers they would provide these enthusiastic but inexperienced people with a useful reminder of their education courses and a help in combatting the pressures of older and often less valuable attitudes which they so often meet in school.

Alan Chambers

Vertical Translation and the Teaching of English: S. B. Wymburne. Publishers - P. R. Macmillan Limited - 12/6d.

Mr. Wymburne is a man with a mission and he does not pull his punches. The result is a lively, vigorous and disturbing book about education, about that very important area of education which is concerned with the teaching and learning of language. It must be agreed that there is plenty of cause for disquiet. Criticisms of poor standards in the use of English constantly assail our ears and it is significant that those criticised for 'illiteracy' are as likely to be sixth formers or University undergraduates as secondary modern pupils. If we have to resort to examination papers in the use of English to try to ensure that the brightest children of the nation have an adequate mastery of their native language, something is clearly radically wrong. It is not that these children are not using English enough; they use it constantly in most of their lessons in school and they use it, or misuse it, freely out of school. From birth onwards we are immersed in a sea of words and

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much of our learning takes place through this medium.

This is indeed the crux of the problem. For unless there is a general recognition that the quality of the medium affects the quality of the product, that clear thinking and the understanding of what we hear and read are dependent on our language skill, we shall get no improvement. Mr. Wymburne is positive that the present defects cannot be remedied by the teacher of English, working as he does as a specialist in his own compartment and with his five or six periods a week. Even if what he is doing is useful, and much of it is not, there is very little transfer from this to the uses of English in all the other compartments. Effective transfer will take place only if the work done in English leads to an understanding of basic linguistic processes, of what happens when we use language, of how it works.

We are beginning to realise the necessity for this understanding of basic processes with regard to other subjects in the curriculum — mathematics and science for example; a recognition of it in the field of language, which in some sense underlies all the rest, is long overdue. In fact it has happened in the higher reaches of thought bearing on the nature of language and the relation of language and philosophy. It is from this work that Mr. Wymburne's practical remedy stems, and in particular from the work of Ogden and Richards.

But before he comes to describe and illustrate his remedies, Mr. Wymburne has a prior problem; how to make room in the overcrowded curriculum for a new subject needing at least ten hours a week. His Cromwellian proposal is to find room by dispensing with the teaching of foreign languages for ninety per cent of the pupils. After himself teaching French for some ten years by conventional methods, he came to the conclusion that for most of his pupils it was a waste of time. It can be demonstrated, he thinks, by the practical test of what they actually do in the classroom and what they actually have in the way of language skill after five or six years study, that they do not achieve the aims which have been put forward in justification for the inclusion of these subjects in the curriculum. These aims have been achieved no doubt by the apologists themselves, and may be by the small percentage of grammar school pupils who go on to sixth form study of these subjects: but not by the rest. They cannot in fact read the literat-

ure, they cannot converse easily with the natives, and translation remains a fumbling and sterile word-guessing process. They remain bogged down in the morass of grammatical idiosyncrasies and eccentricities which these languages display.

Mr. Wymburne is not against the learning of foreign languages, by those who can go on long enough to use the language effectively. But he rightly attacks the assumption that those who have gone only half way have at least got half of the benefits. On the contrary, he quotes I. A. Richards as saying: 'So far from being valuable initial discipline, the acquisition of strange syntax patterns by rule and the study of grammatical distinctions are probably, for a numerous type of learner, actively stultifying — as many teachers have maintained. At the least they distract attention from the more important work of discriminating between meanings.' The theory of formal discipline, of 'exercising the muscles of the mind' on intractable material of some kind and assuming they will then be 'stronger' for other tasks, is no longer psychologically respectable. But we suspect it still lurks behind the other arguments of the apologists. Mr. Wymburne has a field day with some of them. And if the outraged language teacher (Mr. Wymburne thinks many of them secretly agree with him) is roused enough he can do something practical about it: he can try to produce the results which would disprove these strictures: at the fourth form level.

The new subject that Mr. Wymburne wants to introduce into the curriculum he calls Vertical Translation i.e. translation down the ladder of abstraction to a more down to earth level, giving the more factual meaning of the original, what Richards calls its 'plain, prose sense' without the overtones, emotive meaning and life and colour of the original. This is in fact what any good teacher does when explaining the meaning of a word, phrase or passage. But the existence of Basic English with its simplified structure and limited vocabulary makes possible the systematic and progressive use of Vertical Translation by the pupil. It can be used as a fundamental educative device to throw light on the nature and function of language. Mr. Wymburne's purpose will be entirely misunderstood if the basic versions of passages given in his book as examples are thought of as attempts to give an adequate rendering of the original with all its flavour and colour. The point is that trans-

lation in this full sense is impossible if the original is a work of art; and approximating to it is one of the most difficult of language skills. The purpose of the Basic Version is to make sure that we are beginning with the bare bones of the meaning: from that base we can proceed to discover the other aspects of meaning which give subtlety and flavour. I. A. Richards in his pioneer work at Cambridge demonstrated how often even advanced students fail to grasp the plain sense of what a writer is saying. This has been repeated many times since by some teachers at all levels and it is always surprising how little their previous work in English has helped them to make the simplest of judgments from scratch. (If we look at what they are actually doing in the classroom in their English lessons most of the time, it ceases to be surprising).

Some pioneer teachers have in fact tried to apply these insights about the nature and function of language: they have been aided by a considerable batch of books with titles like *Clearer Thinking*, *Straight and Crooked Thinking* etc. Mr. Wymburne has a chapter dealing with why this kind of approach is unlikely to produce the results hoped for. As one who has tried this approach at various levels for many years, I must say I think he is right. It is relatively easy to convince students that their present thought and language processes leave much to be desired: but establishing new *habits* of thought — not just taking over from teacher a new way of doing it — is a long and arduous business and as things are one never has enough time for it. Nor do the exercises in question, applied logic etc., provide a systematic method which is also relevant to our everyday needs in the use of English.

So I cannot but agree that nothing short of a drastic remedy will do, and Mr. Wymburne's swashbuckling assault on our present ostrich-like procedures is designed to clear the way. It will succeed only in so far as those who are convinced, or at any rate sufficiently disturbed, by his assault are moved to do something about it: in the first place to master basic translation themselves and then somehow try it out with a group of pupils in a systematic way. This at least we owe to the author of what is perhaps the most lively, entertaining and thought-provoking book on education since Sir John Adams' *Herbartian Psychology*. J. W. Tibble

N.E.F.

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In answer to the problem of how selection and rejection may be carried out the author runs through, in successive chapters, the various classes of programme and attempts to show what good and what bad material

has been any is being offered.

Occasionally, however, one wishes that Mr. Reed's easy spiel would develop at least a few outcrops of surprise which might lead one's thoughts to more personal reminiscences of pleasure or boredom. The book was far too factual to do this for me, for never did I drift off the page for a moment to 'dream of former fields of green'. To apply the adjective 'chatty' would not be too unfair; yet in its very chattiness may lie its appeal to a fairly wide age group: — say from the 1st to 5th forms of Secondary Schools.

Again, one cannot help feeling that as Secretary of the British Film Institute, Mr. Reed might have been

expected to hold out some hope of better things to come, in what is certainly more often than not an uncertain form of entertainment. Nevertheless he does point out that, when bad programmes 'can get away with it' without criticism, they will continue to be put on, and that it is up to young people to criticize.

On the whole, I think that, by the time school motor mowers are lulling English forms to their perennially recurring drowsiness next summer, some Senior English Masters may, thanks in a small degree to this book, be awaking to life those who yet squat and watch the long evenings through.

Michael A Calver

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THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

Equipment for Play

Paul Abbatt

A child's mind grows by contact with people and with things. People, of course, matter enormously to children, but so do things. Sometimes a child is so engrossed with them that he will hardly notice people. His arms still stretch out towards them when he is hurried away to bed. He dreams of them. He looks forward to the morning when he can see them again. It is these *things* in the life of a child that we are going to talk about to-day.

These things towards which the tiny child stretches his arms or crawls convey to him the extension of space around him. Something is so near in one direction, something else so far in the other. When a ball goes upwards, his eye tries to follow its movement 'up and down', which he now adds to 'near and far'. Gradually he acquires an intuitive knowledge of the geometry of space. He becomes orientated. Notions which we regard as natural and self-evident about the spacing and arrangement of the world around us, he has to acquire by experience, by his interest in things. Therefore the more we provide things in which he takes interest, the more acquainted he quickly becomes with spatial relations, and with the differences in quality, size, weight and behaviour of objects. He is alert and begins to master his environment and is stimulated to make enquiries and to draw conclusions.

Sometimes the ordinary household things around him are in the centre of his attention, sometimes they only just edge their way in. A door-knob, a floor covering, the curtains, are taken for granted and looked at without being seen. But sometimes the door-knob, for instance, will come right into focus. He will finger a dent in the brass, notice if the handle is loose in its socket, play with it for minutes together.

How are we to know what things will interest a child and why? what things will just flit in and out of his attention, absorbing it

only rarely? and what things will become personal to him, for which he will form an attachment, extracting experience and knowledge through handling them often?

Certainly a little doll as a companion, or a Teddy Bear or other soft animal is accepted by a child and loved. But things with moveable parts, or that move as a whole, and especially those that he can move himself, have a great attraction for a child. Children of today and children of long ago have sometimes dragged and turned stones too heavy to lift to the edge of steep hillsides and watched them gathering speed to the bottom. This makes a big effect, with the help of gravity. But the child makes an effect also, though a smaller one, by pulling an animal on wheels or pushing a wagon. He feels some power, that he is the cause of what is happening, and acquires satisfaction and self-confidence.

These are actions — leading animals, pushing wagons, — that adult man has done since very early times. In speaking of children's play equipment and toys, we shall continually refer to adult activity, because children's play and play equipment is connected with it. Many toys, perhaps most, — Dinky cars, aeroplanes and aeroplane kits, trains, dolls perambulators, miniature shops — are small replicas of things in the adult world. They seize the child's imagination; he treasures his Dinky car almost as much as his father does his real one.

But there are also things the child likes doing — leading animals, pushing or pulling wagons, play in sand and water and trees — which come from the antique world, the world we urban people today have left behind. The child is deeply rooted in the past, and reaches of necessity down to his roots as well as up to his maturity. We must regard play equipment always as a substitute — either for the primitive natural environment to which children have

been accustomed for hundreds of thousands of years, or for the machines and gadgets in modern adult life towards which children are growing.

This moving of things — rolling a stone, pulling or pushing a toy animal or wagon — leads quickly to fitting or putting things together. The wagon is loaded or unloaded, — in fact half-loaded and then half-unloaded; the child does not pursue a purposeful course of action but changes his mind continually. He presents something from the half-loaded wagon to a grown-up and then takes it away again quickly and puts it back in the wagon. There is no continuous purpose but a series of experiments, spontaneous and only half completed.

One can place a chunk of wood in such a child's hand — a child now interested in objects and their relationship — and another chunk in the other hand, and he has a toy. Watch him clap or rub them together, place them in different arrangements one against the other, balance one on the other, push one along the floor with the other, like a train. It all seems to be quite trivial, hardly worth attention. He is in fact experimenting, exploring, finding out, learning things by doing, things that are prior to anything we can teach at school, but fundamental to such teaching.

We encourage this probing, this trying out and exploring, by letting him do it at his own tempo, just as he likes. He need not be shown how, he will find his own way. Presently we give him not 2 chunks of wood but dozens. He builds. This activity of building is something that comes naturally, inherited from the past, like the facility for learning to speak. The first building done by man was when he shovelled up some sort of windbreak behind which to lie. Man has been a builder ever since, with improving techniques. The child will also improve his techniques, using more and more bricks, and constructional toys of increasing intricacy. We plan for him this graded series of building materials so that he may find out in a few years what man took many thousands to discover.

Besides building at home and at school, the child is interested in real building going on outside. Play mimics what is happening in the

adult world. The fact that the world is full of buildings for the child to see, some actually being built at the moment near enough for him to know of, is the great stimulus to him himself to try to build.

There are hoardings round most building operations and the public can only watch from a distance, perhaps only through a crack. Years ago there were no hoardings. Small boys became friendly with the bricklayers who went up ladders carrying bricks in hods. The boys sometimes even followed. The bricklayers and the boys were friends. The boys watched fascinated as the mortar was mixed and saw it oozing out like mud when one brick was laid on another. They actually handled the bricks and mortar a little and ran around cheerfully fetching a tool. The bricks and mortar and half-finished building were in a sense play-materials. The boys enjoyed the activity of building. There was something dynamic going on in which adults were engaged. The boys would play it all out again at home with their own building materials and imagine themselves grown-up.

The child's building is cleared away after play is finished, sometimes in a matter of minutes. Man's building is cleared away — finished with — only after many years. Such a difference in time-scale — the difference between minutes and years — gives an impression of the difference between child and man — how far the child has to go, how much he has to learn before he is grown-up. He has already come far. He has learnt to walk upright, to speak, to hold and use simple tools. He is making a journey, as it were, from the depths of human time to the modern adult world. We treat him as a little traveller, still with a huge gap, the gap between child and man, to be crossed.

Besides wooden building bricks — these have to be of a size to allow the small child to build something quickly, smaller bricks are for the older child — Meccano is the building or constructional material the public knows best. This is intricate and suitable for older children. There is of course, a nicely graded sequence of easier materials in wood and in plastic leading up to it. These are mostly rather new, and have emerged following our increased appreciation

that the child from the age of nothing to eight is an active personality and requires the right tools for his development. He wants through all this period not only soft toys or flimsy things in cardboard, but particularly through these early years very solid things made preferably in wood — fitting toys, jigsaws, constructional toys, bricks — which offer the appropriate task for his increasing dexterity from year to year.

At first the young child names what he has made irrespective of its appearance, but from about the fourth year he will name it more rationally. From about the fifth or sixth year the child says what he is going to make before he begins. This level of development must be reached before the child is ready for school, where much depends on his being able to adopt the work attitude and to have the readiness and ability to carry out instructions.

The little girl in caring for her baby doll is both reaching up to her own future and doing what womankind has always done. For her there are satisfactions from the past, and a first development of nimbleness and skill of handling for the future. Her little sister does not yet feel the urge to be maternal; she wants a little companion in the form of a toddler, not a baby, doll. Maybe she will carry it around with her, not with maternal care, but by one arm or leg. A rag doll is admirable for her. However unrealistic, it will be accepted as a companion and friend. A little boy, too, may very well like such a doll and friend.

On the playground — this need not be an asphalted space but could be partly garden with bushes and undulating surfaces and partly builder's yard with sand, water, small ladders and real bricks — on the playground any apparatus that is installed should present a variety of ways of usage. For instance, a climbing frame can be scrambled over in many ways and directions, the children imagining themselves anything from aeronauts to submarine commanders. A swing, on the other hand, is to swing on and that is all. The boredom of doing this repeatedly challenges the child's inventiveness and he may find variations which are dangerous; swinging while lying across the seat face downwards, for instance. But the climbing frame is after all a substitute for a tree. Why, as a long

term policy, not have a real tree or trees, chosen as to species or variety and pruned and developed specially for purposes of climbing? One tries to stop short of suggestions that may not be practical, such as a rope ladder up the tree and a little house in it. Playgrounds, under the names of Adventure Playgrounds or Play Parks, are arousing much discussion and attention nowadays and pleas are being made for arrangement and equipment more corresponding to the needs of children than a plain rectangular asphalted area.

In speaking of outdoor equipment we must mention the ball. The bounciness of a ball, its liveliness, its partnership in play with a child, its receding from him to a wall and returning, his growing ability to catch it and to compel and control its movement, makes it a plaything — from large and soft to smaller and harder — that lasts from early childhood to adulthood. The child can be cross with a ball. He can be kind to it. He can talk to it. He can increasingly dominate it. Sometimes it hides from him in the grass or escapes over the wall. He may be thinking about it in class. He can throw with it, which is one of the early things man learnt to do; he can play games with it, which is one of the things he sees adults do to-day.

The child not only talks to his ball, he talks to his other toys. 'Come here', he says, 'Don't roll away'. And then he says what people say to him:— 'Do as I tell you'. Perhaps we all talk to things. There is a story of Dostoevsky's of a Russian who took off his boots and placed them side by side in front of him. 'Now walk!' he commanded. And after an interval: 'You see you can't without me!' Coleridge wrote in his notebook: 'A child scolding a flower in the words in which he has himself been scolded and whipped, is poetry.' The child places the flower or toy in the humiliating position in which he himself has been. This somehow comforts and relieves. One can imagine the multitude of social and emotional new situations and problems that crowd into a child's life, as he changes so rapidly, growing up, having to take on new attitudes and face things differently from month to month. It seems it is not only in Siberia that H-bombs go off or in America that there are agonising reappraisals. Intense explosions and

adjustments take place also in children's lives. The comfort of a toy is required for dramatic re-enactment of difficulties and of what is not properly understood. A ball or a stick may do, but a glove puppet that can almost talk back is better. We provide children at home and school with many little dolls — grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters — little animals, and little cars so that they can construct a world of their own and cope with their difficulties in arranging and rearranging, talking, haranguing, warning, consoling these little creatures of play. The child is not alone, if he has toys he then has company that he imagines understands him and with whom he can communicate when he might fear to communicate with a real person.

This expresses the dynamic relationship between the child and toy in play. It appears that he endows the toy with a vitality, a personality, and that child and toy play together, not just the child with the toy. This little action-system of child and toy provides the child with a private arena in which he can try out problems of growing-up. Sometimes the child wants to retreat and spiral backwards to more babyish ways. In his private world of toys he can do so without reproof. We must regard toys as valuable aids indeed to the child caught between the age-old forces of his own nature and the conventions and demands of society; always insecure in his balance between fight and flight, between forward and backward, positive and negative behaviour.

There is some sort of resemblance between the way in which we, and especially children, give life and personality to inanimate objects and the magic of primitive peoples. Primitive peoples, by the way, invented the percussion band as part of their ritual. The child with his percussion instruments is much nearer to them than he is to the modern orchestra. Again we recognize the gap to be crossed in growing up.

We now come to a point in this discussion, from which we must continue in a rather different direction. We really have to tackle the practical details of equipment for play. My wife and I have been closely concerned with equipment for play for thirty years, but it is extraordinary how little one learns of one's own job. We

never know how teachers have time to teach; they have so many other things to do. We have so many business problems in connection with staff, premises, publicity, office organization, that we hardly have time to think of children or even toys.

We started our interest in toys in 1931, when it was very difficult to find any well-made toys suitable for children's needs, and especially any that were suitable for the use of groups of children, as in schools. We happened just to have made an extensive foreign tour and had seen children using play equipment, well-made and serviceable, which fulfilled their play needs. We were filled with the sort of ideas that we have been describing to you so far, ideas about the relevance of good play equipment to the development of children. Toys at this time were hardly used in Infants' Schools, and there were only a few Nursery Schools in existence.

Looking back to 1931, it appears that what was most needed was size, strength and good colours in toys. With regard to size, wooden building bricks were then first produced many times larger than previously, culminating in hollow bricks which were at least as large as real bricks. This increase in size — and quantity — of bricks made a set of such weight and volume and price that it was a new type of play-material. One could hardly call it a toy, in the then meaning of the word, but private people bought such sets of bricks. A recent survey of toys available in the homes of upper and middle-income group people indicates that big building bricks occur in 61 per cent. of them. This percentage is much higher than in continental countries and seems to indicate a better appreciation here of children's play requirements.

Again with regard to size, a strong 2-sided easel was developed for two children to work at, with troughs into which pots of poster-paints or jam-jars could be placed. The surfaces of the easel were two feet square and were for large pieces of paper to be attached to. Big paint brushes were provided. At that time, as a result of the work of Marion Richardson and others, the era of children's big, bold painting was beginning. Previously nothing had been available except little rickety toy easels or real

artists' easels. The idea of the strong and adequate children's easel was not original to us — few of our toys are, really — we saw such an easel, probably coming from America, on a visit to Dartington Hall. Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld showed us at her clinic a device for children's painting: a big roll of cartridge paper on a fixture similar to those that hold rolls of wrapping paper in shops. This was fixed vertically on a wall so that the paper would be drawn out along the wall from left to right, at the height of the children, and passed under slides to hold it in position against the wall. A whole row of children could then paint on it at the same time. This seemed a useful and ingenious idea. Nowadays many teachers think it better that children should paint on a horizontal — floor or table — surface instead of on inclined or vertical surfaces, so preventing the wet water-colour running downwards in streaks. The paintbox is ten times as large as it used to be, and has glazed earthenware palettes the size of ash trays and pots of poster colours. Thus the child was provided with tools large enough to paint by using the paintbrush with the sweep of the arm rather than with a smaller movement of the fingers.

Carpenters' tools for children can now be found which are as good as real ones but smaller in size. The cheap and poor tool-set for the child may do a great deal of moral as well as physical damage to him; the saw fails to cut; the head of the hammer flies off, and the child feels that carpentry — and perhaps all hand-work — is beyond him and is discouraged. Such poor tools and such discouragements provide the tiny beginning of attitudes which mark the later adolescent as aloof, uninterested, unoccupied, without tenacity or purpose. Toys are tools, and tools are toys, which the child uses, and in using them forms his own character and habits. His character becomes the image of their character, good and sound or poor and breakable.

The spade which bends or breaks in the soil, even under the small pressure that the child can exert, might similarly discourage the child from digging, an operation so fundamental and rewarding to man in his long history; a task now done mostly by machinery but one not to be

missed by the child. 'Garden tools began when steel made swords and craftsmen knew that good ideas need strength' — quoting Mr. Lawrence Hills of *The Observer* — 'The best tools for gardeners', he continues, 'are not the gay gadgets that may hang unused, but those that grow into old friends as they wear on through the years like good swords in a flimsy world. A ladies' fork is better for a child growing up to gardening than a bright painted set stamped from sheet metal.' Mr. Hills mentions a wooden implement called a 'Man' to clean the mud off tools. The name 'Man', he says reaches back to Brunel when canals were dug by navvies who wore this small wooden 'Man' in the side of their trouser knee-straps, handy for cleaning tools that were *their own*, unlike grabs and bulldozers to-day. They considered that clean tools made as much difference as an extra man in a piece-work gang, as they trenched their way across England with tools of blacksmith's steel, and with this strong and simple invention for cleaning them, — the invention of an unknown navy that has lasted longer than some of the canals themselves.

We are still dealing with the size and strength of toys, their worthwhileness and quality. To revert for a moment to the child as artist, a firm which produced trivial little crayons for children also produced and showed at the other end of their display very thick and solid ones for marking timber in timber yards. These latter were really the suitable ones for young children. This indicates how one has to search for play-materials outside the world of toys — at the other end of the crayon display, for instance, at the tool shop, at Building Trades Exhibitions, anywhere and everywhere. The provision of good play equipment is a new territory, with a new market; one sells a new attitude to children as well as toys. Children like real things, things intended for adults or things adults have discarded.

Coming to jigsaws, these are best made in thick plywood — $\frac{1}{4}$ inch — instead of thin or, as they often are, in cardboard. For young children the picture must be sharp and simple, almost like a primitive painting, with little attention to scale or perspective and cut into only a few pieces. Picture-trays, in which the

objects in the picture lift out by means of knobs or pegs are easier to manipulate than the simplest jigsaws; this time the idea was almost our own but depending from the more abstract Montessori insets. We had in mind the pre-school child, but as in time toys found their way into the infants' schools, teachers found picture-trays suitable for children who were retarded because their home backgrounds were meagre in resources for play and equipment.

With regard to colour and design, it is best to have bright primary colours which harmonize, to avoid the garish and the too-multicoloured toy. Top-class designers are now becoming interested in the hitherto neglected field of toys.

When I first started feeling embarrassed about this paper, — for it is embarrassing and even presumptuous to talk to teachers about children and play-equipment owing to their greater knowledge, — I asked my wife, naturally, what I could possibly say, and how I could say it and I took down exactly her reply: 'Play equipment is always a substitute for the real thing', she said. 'The more I think of play equipment, the less I think of it. Teaching aids are far, far worse. Teaching aids are nothing but props because the poor teachers have 40 or more children to teach at once and they have to keep them harmlessly occupied and quiet. It would be a lot healthier to go out and collect conkers and acorns or seashells or what-have-you, and if you want to instil any idea of weight, dimensions or capacity you require scales, rulers and jars or pots of different sizes.

'Before the children use scales', she said, 'it is useful that they should have a series of objects all looking the same and should test their weights in the hand, only checking them afterwards in the scales. But I don't know whether you are asked to talk about this. Similarly, they should be asked to guess the length of a cricket pitch or a table or a classroom and see who gets nearest to it! They ought to be able to estimate without really counting how many beans in the pod; how many beads in that box; how many people in the room; how many cars pass in five minutes!

'However this has got nothing to do with your lecture. I am simply overcome by looking at teaching aids in some people's catalogues!

'I think that children learn a tremendous lot in their way merely by imitating grown-ups, so I really am a great believer in grown-ups' utensils scaled down to children's size.'

May we pass on now to the final stage, the foot or hand of this talk shall we say, in which or *with* which we seek to grasp the essence of play equipment, of play itself, of play in school, even of schools themselves in the community and even of the community itself? — far more than I was asked to talk about.

Play equipment, we say, is always a substitute for the real things of the past, the long, long past of the human race, and for the real things of the child's future towards which he eagerly feels and reaches. The child is involved historically with water, earth, trees, everything in the landscape and seascape of nature. He cannot escape this connection. Water, earth, trees pull him towards them.

Formerly he was also closely involved with father, mother, their occupations, everything they were doing. I quote from a book on windmills: 'Occasionally a windmill gets thoroughly out of hand. Some millers then pull the mill a quarter out of the wind... jamming the stones down meanwhile, to choke them by feeding them with the maximum amount of grain... On a black night with the sails racing round in a storm, all this is easier said than done; and should the miller be short of grain, one of the *children* is sent off as quick as he can go to beg the farmers round about to send up their grain immediately. Running out of grain before the sails can be stopped means almost certain fire.'

This involvement in the occupational life of the parents is no longer the rule. The child does not play as he used to, at what his father does, because he does not know what this is. The factory or office is remote and unimaginable. When he tries to play the modern man, the child plays at pilots of aeroplanes, spacemen, gangsters, wild west, perhaps sometimes bus conductors and nurses, but probably not at what his own future occupation is likely to be. Formerly children played at being millers or farmers or carpenters and this play changed imperceptibly into work.

You see how the child's life was formerly integrated into the community. He saw what was

going on around him and played — *played* — a part in it. Now there are divisions — hoardings and walls — to keep children out. They are the losers by this. The community is the loser. Children are humanizers; they add another dimension to society, which without them is aloof and ungenerous.

But how, in this modern society, where the wheels are all spinning round so fast, so dangerously fast, can we bring children into closer connection? Adults are rather hostile to children, other than their own, perhaps, and especially to children's play. Children are a danger to traffic, and traffic a danger to them; their play is noisy and gets on people's nerves. Everybody's mind is too taken up with their own problems, to be bothered with children. Let us sit at a different table in the cafe or get into a different compartment in the train. — Children? So sorry, but there are no rooms to let.

So children find no easy way into the closed circle of adult life. They are detached from it and strange manifestations such as juvenile delinquency arise.

The tired or harassed or lazy parent, instead of playing with his children, gives them pocket money in order to get rid of them for a time. Is it altogether too exaggerated and fantastic an idea to suggest that in the same way society, in order to get its children out of the way, makes grants of money for schools to which children have to go? I know there is more to it than that. I know that in schools an atmosphere is created congenial to children where they can learn and develop, helped by devoted teachers. But I think there is a little truth also in what I am saying, that society does not want to be troubled with children and schools are the answer.

So far then as schools are to any extent a means of segregating children, they become ivory towers. We try, however, to make schools living organisms and discover there are other things besides reading, writing and arithmetic. There is the creative imagination of children, self-expression, craftwork, physical activity, music, dramatic art. But we still do not find a way out to the interesting world, the real world outside.

A psychic climate favourable to children and play must be created so that the community gives its benison to children, a little of its time, a little of its space, a little of its thought and attention, going a little more slowly for the sake of children, gaining a blessing for itself in so doing. A community that wishes to forget its children does not deserve to have them. A Parks Department can look after the Parks, a Refuse Department look after the refuse, with only a little co-operation from the public. But an Education Department needs the full co-operation of a child-conscious community, not sentimental about children, but alert to them, interested in them, prepared to help them. The richest educational opportunities might then occur outside schools, not inside them, and teachers should promote this and welcome it when it comes.

There could be a welcomed and friendly penetration into schools by industry, and into industry by schools, to show children how things are made, what an industrial worker has to do, what it *feels* like to be an industrial or office worker, how a machine is handled; and for older children, to provide experience of planning, design, organization. I see children again, as in the nineteenth century, closely connected with factories and fields, this time not to be exploited but to learn, to be in contact with the dynamic processes of production.

Thoughts about play, and of children playing their way into adult occupations, has led us to these thoughts about schools, industry and the community. To be interested in play and in play equipment, and to allow play in school time, implies a sympathy with the child's own purposes, not the imposing on him of our purposes.

In this case we would have to think again about equipment for play. As children's experience under these new conditions of education would be more real, more valid, closer to the experience of society as a whole, would toys as substitutes be less required, less acceptable? On the contrary, small replicas of the real world around them, constructional toys, building blocks, dolls and dolls' equipment, strong but small tools would enable them to re-enact, digest and come to understand better exper-

iences and processes with which they had had first-hand contact. If schools and factories were in close contact, there would be a flood of new ideas, new designs, new prototypes of toys.

The making of toys has already had a considerable influence on more important branches of industry. The bodies of toy motor cars — Dinky toys — were pressed out in steel, and thus gave the idea or pioneered the way for giant presses to be made to press out the bodies of real motor cars. Meccano provided the idea for the slotted metal strip from which much storage shelving is now made. The extruded plastic moulding was first devised to make toys and now makes also, for instance, parts of refrigerators. It is time that industry repaid the debt to toys. There are many forms of trolley used in industrial handling which, scaled down, would form admirable and very durable push and pull toys for children. An association, a lively partnership between industry and the schools, would quickly enrich the schools with better play materials. What is required is the brains of the industrial designer stimulated by the needs for equipment for play of the child, and guided by the teacher. The designer must produce the economical and durable design, leaving scope for the child to use it in many different ways on many different occasions. Toys have been the Cinderella of the world of design and it is only the odd designer who bothers his head about them.

But as the method of construction of the

Dinky precedes that of the real car so also the child's wheel toy may have preceded the introduction of the real wheel vehicle. In Mexico, a land in which no wheel vehicles were known when it was discovered by the West, there was recently unearthed a child's ancient toy of burnt clay, a little animal on wheels. Such a small article on wheels could be made before the proper techniques for load-bearing axles and bearings were developed. So a toy often contains the germ of an idea not yet technically feasible. The kite preceded the aeroplane, the child's spinning top, the automatic pilot. The magnet and gunpowder were first introduced as toys.

From such a distance of time one sees more clearly. The further away one goes the better one understands. The children whom you know are so immediate to you, so familiar in habit and behaviour, attractive or repulsive, so individually known, that it is difficult without retreating to a distance to see an epic quality in them. 'The present contains all that there is', said Whitehead, 'It is holy ground; for it is the past and the future.' We borrow from this to say: 'The child contains all that there is. He is holy; for in him and in his play is represented all past and all future human activity.'

May we provide him with play equipment which will help him and not discourage him; free him and not confine him; help him to reach upwards and downwards in time; and to be an adjusted and integrated personality.

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Two Bilingual Children

Leif H. Lunn, Odense, Denmark

MICHAEL AND BENEDICTE do not differ from most other children except on one point, that they are bilingual. They live in Denmark, their mother is English and their father Danish. Although their mother speaks Danish rather well, she determined that the children should learn English, so, in spite of being brought up in Denmark, English is literally the children's mother-tongue.

Mixed marriages are, these days, not very uncommon, and it is surprising that one does not meet more children who are bilingual. Without doubt the children themselves will appreciate the chance of having learnt two languages without effort, at any rate when they are grown-up. The material is not extensive enough to draw conclusions as to whether children come to speak at a later age or not when they have to learn two languages (Michael and Benedicte were six-and-a-half and three years old respectively, when this was written). At any rate, not to overtire the children's brains, the parents spoke only English to them for the first eighteen months of their lives. After that Danish was also spoken to them.

In the beginning they hardly realized when they spoke the one language or the other. They knew, however, that to their parents and to each other they spoke English. To everybody else they spoke Danish. If Danish aunts or uncles spoke in English to the children, they answered them in Danish. Once when an Englishman, who couldn't speak a word of Danish, asked Michael a question in English, he answered in Danish thinking that the Englishman was trying to catch him out.

Later on, as the children's vocabulary developed, the character of the two languages changed. English was the cultured grown-up language; Danish was more childish and bristled with swear-words quickly picked up from playmates. One day we heard Michael say angrily: 'I have done it, *for Soren da ogsaa*.' (Danish childish swear-word).

Otherwise the children do not mix the languages very much, and when they do so it

is always in one of two ways:

1. If they lack a word in the language they happen to be talking in at the moment, they borrow one from the other, e.g., the above-mentioned swear-word.
2. Sometimes they transfer the syntax of the one language to the other. When the children were dressing they often said 'I took it on' instead of the correct 'I put it on', because the verb in Danish is 'tog' (took).

The children learn English independently of Danish. Their mistakes are the same as most English children make. They are completely different from those we Danes make when we begin to learn English. Without doubt the English 'r' is difficult for foreigners to pronounce; even many English people themselves find some difficulty with this. Danes as a rule, replace the light English 'r' with the Danish (and German) guttural 'r', but Michael and Benedicte used 'w' instead and pronounced rabbit 'wabbit' like many other English children, this pronunciation being nearer the correct one than rabbit pronounced with a Danish 'r'.

If they know the name of an article in both languages they can translate it after a few seconds' thought, probably because they visualize the things first. For example — a dog — and they quickly find the Danish word 'hund'. It is apparently not more difficult for them to remember that a dog is called *hund* than that it says 'bow wow'.

When Michael was between three and four years old he could manage to translate the rather difficult abstract 'not'. Figures are a peculiarity in this connection. Even though Michael could count to hundred in English or Danish, he could translate only up to seven or eight without fault. Translating higher numbers involves more guess-work, and this is probably because the children cannot visualize numbers since neither can read or write. The reason why they can translate up to seven or eight is probably because they can quickly count up to the required number.

English words adopted by the Danish language are regarded as Danish and pronounced in the Danish way. Once Michael told me 'I know what a jet is called in Danish — *jet*.' (Pronounced yet).

The manner in which a child learns two languages at the same time, and the way in which the one language influences the other in the child's expressions, is dealt with by the late professor in English at the University of Copenhagen, *Otte Jespersen*. Otte Jespersen is a little sceptical regarding the value of a child's learning two languages. Naturally, it is an advantage for a person to be able to speak and be familiar with two languages from childhood, but he thinks one can pay too dearly for this. He may seem to speak both languages like a native, but in reality he lacks the fuller and deeper understanding of either.

Albert Schweitzer would by no means agree. Brought up in Alsace, he spoke two languages as a child: French and German. Mr. George Seaver writes in his book on Albert Schweitzer that when he wrote home to his parents it was always in French, this being the language he had talked in his home, but most of his books are written in German. On the other hand, he thinks and dreams in the dialect of Alsace which is related to German. Albert Schweitzer is convinced that a child can learn to speak two languages just as perfectly as one who only learns one, but that only one language can be its real 'mother-tongue'. He also maintains that an exact translation from one language to another is impossible, as the tone and emphasis of a word cannot be transferred from one language to another. After he had written his book on J. S. Bach in French, he was requested to translate it into German, but soon gave up the job and re-wrote the whole work in German.

The acquirement of two languages is not the only problem of children in mixed marriages. The children must understand the two countries' cultures, customs, songs and nursery-rhymes. I should think it is important to know that 'sugar and spice and all that's nice, that's what little girls are made of' — as well as the similar version in Danish.

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Who are the Delinquents?

James Hemming

A MONTH OR TWO AGO I was in our local emporium, along with a crowd of other people, when into our midst bustled three well-set-up young men in leather jackets and tight trousers. They went hither and thither about the store, among us but not of us, making jokes with one another, laughing raucously, being a nuisance. At length, encouraged to go by plenty of hostile glances and cold shoulders, they streamed out of the swing doors. The last of them contrived to smash a pane of glass in it as he left, by way of underlining his rejection of us and all our kind. A shop assistant ran after them, sounded a whistle; a policeman was handy and the boy who had smashed the glass was caught. So, as his Christmas present from society, this young man came up before the courts — one more notch on the tally of statistics. 'I hope they make an example of him' muttered a bystander.

Such young men are the main source of delinquency to-day and form a race apart in our midst. What has created them? What are we to do with them? The vindictive traditionalists scream for the restoration of corporal punishment. Frustrated magistrates seek for some clever new corrective that will magically rehabilitate these unsocialized young males: hence the high hopes for the short sharp shock residential centres. Research workers get busy piling up information about the backgrounds and characters of the delinquents. What kinds of homes do they come from? Were they wanted or unwanted as children? How intelligent are they? How fit? What employment do they take, if any? How restless are they as employees, and so forth?

All this opinion, experiment and inquiry seems to me to leave out of account a central influence on the growth of adolescents — the climate of the society which is to-day surrounding them as they grow up. We know from many sources that the social climate and the values it represents influence human behaviour profoundly. For example, on a building site where a good climate exists people behave with an

enthusiasm, responsibility and co-operation that is notably absent from a site where the climate is bad. The climate of a school will decide whether the same kind of children from the same kind of area behave like amenable, purposeful young human beings or like aimless, destructive young hooligans. It surely follows that the climate of society itself must exert a powerful influence upon growing children.

If we wish to reduce delinquency, we need to study with the closest attention what in our society is likely to foster the growth of personal and social maturity, and what is likely to impede it. No approach to delinquents as individuals can ever clear up delinquency in a society within which there are rampant delinquency-producing influences that will create new delinquents at least as fast as you rehabilitate old ones.

I do not want to seem to be rejecting the personal approach. A thorough understanding of each individual delinquent is plainly the basis of therapy. But, in itself, this is just not enough. Take, for example, African delinquency in Johannesburg. The grandfathers, or even the fathers, of these dangerous young toughs were, in their youth, conformist members of rural communities where crime was almost unknown. Africans love children and I am fairly confident that many, if not most, of the present delinquent generation were not rejected as infants. They were almost certainly breast-fed over an extended period. Yet here they now are, teenage toughs, because I suggest they feel themselves to be rejected as inferior by a society which is alien to them and confused within itself. Bewildered by the confusion and resentful of the inferiority imposed upon them, they turn upon society in revenge and self-justification.

Exactly what a good social climate involves is a fascinating subject about which I only generalize here. A good social climate is one that brings out in individuals and groups what is purposeful, co-ordinated and creative; a bad social climate is one that thwarts, confuses and disrupts the individual and group potentialities

which are subjected to it. A good social climate for *adolescents* is one that helps them to become mature, responsible and socialized by obliging them to tackle and master the tasks of personal development that are inseparable from adolescence.

Here are, at any rate, some of these inescapable tasks:

1. To work out a sense of personal identity,
2. To become involved and competent in a range of activities that are felt to be significant and satisfying,
3. To gain a satisfactory place and status among one's fellows and in society as a whole,
4. To discover a goal for living that transcends personal life yet gives personal life a higher significance,
5. To work out a coherent set of values by which to live,
6. To come to terms with one's own sexuality and the other sex and to acquire a tender, compassionate guilt-free attitude to sex and love.

Adolescents surmount these tasks of their own development through striving, experimenting and mastery. No longer in deep doubt about their identity and their worth, they are ready to team up with society and make their contribution to the limits of their powers.

But suppose adolescents do not surmount the tasks of development appropriate to their phase of life? They will lack any sense of personal value, and society will seem something alien rather than friendly. Human beings can no more exist without the assurance of significance than they can exist without the assurance of love. So those who have not been drawn into assurance and significance by their society will seek assurance and significance by some devious, indirect road. That is what adolescent delinquency is — an awkward attempt to compensate for a sense of personal loss or inadequacy. The girl who tells tall stories to impress her friends; the boy who plays it tough to blow himself up bigger than life size; the hooligan bunch who stick together and cock a snook at the world; the sly spoiler who gets his kicks from upsetting the purposes of others are

all advertising in their own way their sense of personal inadequacy.

A primitive society leaves none rejected. Every adolescent who survives physically up to initiation and beyond it steps into adulthood amid the rejoicing of his people and is left in no doubt about his value and significance. But our society is all but indifferent to what adolescents really need to set them on their way to responsible adulthood. It thwarts and confuses at least a substantial minority of young people by failing to meet their personal needs.

By this incompetence, negligence and blindness it manufactures delinquency. So far as we are all responsible for our society, we all stand condemned for this. But some have more power than others and must carry the brunt of responsibility for failing the young. I will move on to the indictment of some of those who are responsible for thwarting and confusing young people to-day.

Political Leaders without Vision

Starting at the top, the Government — and the Opposition too — are failing, and have failed for years to give young people any kind of vision to stir their imaginations and touch their altruistic yearnings. Young people need to feel that their country is decent in its mode of life and dedicated to objectives that are worth their while pursuing. What dream of the future is the British Government offering? — the prospect of doubling our standard of living in twenty-five years so long as we are obedient now. This is a travesty of what a national purpose should be. There is nothing here to reach or stir youth. The appeal is self-centred and materialistic. No mention is made of Britain's potential contribution to a struggling world. The emphasis is not on giving anything but on getting as much as possible for ourselves. The real challenge of our times is to face the population explosion and feed a starving world, to organize production for the common good, to defeat disease, to develop a world in which each nation, contributing from its resources of goods and skill, makes common cause with all nations in raising the level of human fulfilment throughout the world. All this is ignored. Where

there is no vision the young people particularly perish. There is no vision to-day. Our political leaders even say we don't want one, that all that really touches people is the 'lolly'. This is as much an under-estimation of what we are as was Ribbentrop's estimation of us in 1937. The tragedy is that to-day it is not an enemy but our leaders who belittle us.

If there is no clear, vivid, worthy and inspiring national purpose, it is the ordinary young people who miss it most, without knowing what they are missing. Those who are in the running for the meritocracy status stakes, or who discover a purpose for themselves autonomously for some other goal, can get along reasonably well without a national purpose. The lack of it will hit them occasionally, taking some of the zest from their own private achievement, giving rise to a mood of depression now and again. But ordinary folk depend a good deal, and always have depended, for their sense of personal value upon an over-all sense that they belong to a country that matters. That is why a lot of ordinary people backed Suez. They leapt to the side of an outmoded Prime Minister and his buddies who promised to put the Great back into Britain. To pretend that ordinary people are self-sufficient in their private affairs is contrary to the evidence. They want to feel significant through their country.

Do not suppose that I am asking for a resurgence of jingoistic nonsense or totalitarian slogans. Apart from deeper considerations, it wouldn't work. The League of Empire Loyalists has amply demonstrated how dotty to-day look the vestigial remains of our past pomp and power. I am simply saying that those who presume to be leaders, in whatever field, have the job of clarifying for those they lead how their creative energies may be directed towards an adequate purpose. The leader should give a valid picture of the whole which is stimulating and sustaining and opens the way for the individual contributions to flow together in the service of a commonly agreed and valued aim. Our political leaders are failing pathetically to do anything like this. H. G. Wells pointed out long ago that any society which fails to offer its young males significant outlets for their energies is in for trouble.

The Examination System

Our society, as at present run, not only fails to offer stirring goals to touch the imagination of our young people. It also specifically arranges things so that those already vulnerable because no such goal exists shall be robbed further of a sense of significance by being forced into a position of rejection and failure in the meritocracy stakes. My next nominees as delinquency-promoters are those who regard examinations as the ideal stimulus for children at school. Of course, a society must have examinations which will select people for the professions and ensure that they take up their careers properly qualified. But the use of examinations to separate the successes from the failures in the ordinary course of education can have only one result — it pushes those who fail into a more and more hopeless position.

Children aren't fools. Whatever cunning dodges are used to conceal the truth, they soon learn that those who seem set fair for examination kudos are the darlings of everyone's hearts and hopes, whereas those who are not are discounted as also-rans whose presence is to be endured as a kind of educational charity during their school years.

Suppose you are a non-academic type. You may have given ten years of your life trying to conform to the educational demands of your society and, at the end of it all, find that nothing you have to offer is deemed of value. None of my readers has had that experience. We should try to imagine what it is like. Human beings as a whole are quick to be shaken and resentful about anything that threatens their self-esteem. Loaded as we may be with professional attainment, we are nevertheless acutely status-sensitive in certain situations!

Notice too that these examinations-rejects come, glorious discovery, to find new hope of making their mark through using their physical strength. What could be more tempting, if you feel rejected and frustrated by what 'they' have done to you, than to tear apart some of the order 'they' prize so much? A society that produces a lot of educational rejects is automatically producing, year in year out, potential hooligans — violent young men who worship violence and make heroes of those who live violently.

I know I am being unfair to those brilliant teachers who convert non-academic education into something significant for adolescents. All honour to them. But their great achievement can only for the children in their care offset the automatic rejection brought about by the examination system as a whole.

I can hardly leave education in its narrower sense without mentioning large classes. The blunt fact is that social education can only take place in an intimate group of a socially realistic size. The absolute maximum for this is thirty. You cannot have classes of over thirty in schools without seriously impairing the social growth of many children. Large classes are, in themselves, delinquency-promoting. So long as we permit Governments to try to get education on the cheap at the expense of the children, we are all delinquent because we are all condoning a cause of delinquency. Large classes and examinations are related of course.

Quite often the academic stars have something approaching private tuition. Fairly often the really dull and backward are in small groups in specialists' hands. Simple arithmetic shows what must happen to the children who are neither notably bright nor devastatingly dull. They are left to be taught under conditions that make real education impossible — particularly social education. I wish we could see powerful action organized against these appalling conditions. It's time the public woke up to the fact that England is becoming an educational slum for the mediocre child. The chances of such a child are better in Moscow and Leningrad than in Manchester or London.

Mass Media

Now let us take a look at those who use the mass media irresponsibly. Their contribution to delinquency is that they perpetrate lies about life. One such lie is that persistently told to young women. It goes something like this: 'If you have the right vital statistics, and if you smell right and wear the right clothes, you will be valued and loved and life for you will be one long round of excitement and joy.' No mention of effort. No mention of sensitivity. No mention of personal qualities. You just have to *look* right, then everything will *go* right for you.

Another lie that strikes at the heart of human values is that money is the source of happiness. Money is, of course, a splendid thing in itself. But only as a means to life. Very rich people are often wretched. How often is this point made by the mass media as compared with its opposite? (*La Dolce Vita* is a notable exception to the general trend). This lie causes great confusion by assuring young men that once they have good money in their pockets all will be well. The time comes when they get good money, — but the old frustrations live on.

Yet another recurring lie is that luck or charm rather than effort is the source of success. Then there is the lie about violence — showing romantic struggles between cops and robbers but omitting the horrid squalor and lurking fear of the criminal's life. Then there is the lie about love — physical love — which presents it as an immediate ecstasy instead of a complex relationship that takes time to grow and flower.

I do not want to stress the effects of the mass media over-much; they are being used as a scapegoat at present to save people the trouble and pain of a more searching examination of the social factors promoting delinquency, but the children do pick up the values of the mass media and when these are false values they mislead children and distort their moral growth.

The Churches

What about those who set themselves up as the arbiters of values in our society — the leaders of organized religion? I am afraid that I must indict them too for the confusion that they are creating. I find that young people to-day are questioning and interested about religion but that they are constantly put off by the dogmatic demands of those who represent religion to them. How can young people be expected to accept Christian theology as the *only* valid religious outlook? Many of them are far from being atheists but yet cannot believe in the dogmas of the Church. But they are made to feel that if they do not accept these beliefs they are outside the pale.

Again, the many voices with which the Church speaks on such questions as divorce, birth control and the atom bomb hardly encourages adolescents to believe that the religious leaders

are in possession of a special source of guidance. Nor does anyone do much to sort out for adolescents the conflicts between the teaching of Jesus and the behaviour of respected members of the community. Even inside the schools 'Be not anxious for the morrow' is hardly consistent with the general demand that they shall spend their evenings doing homework in preparation for their distant academic future. The intellectual children do their best to sort some sense out of all this confusion; the less intellectual are inclined to give it up as hopeless and discard religious people as just a lot of hypocrites. Some young people, desperate for something firm beneath their feet, deliberately close their minds to their own criticisms and accept one dogmatic presentation or another, holus-bolus. But even this attitude does not give them inner peace because an unquestioning acceptance of religious dogma in our changing, challenging world turns out to be no more help to them in solving the problems of their personal lives than it helps the dignitaries to solve the problems of their public lives.

The Prudes and Double-Talk

That leads me to the next on the list: the prudes. If there is one certain way of losing the trust of adolescents and creating a gap between ourselves and them, society and them, it is in failing to answer their sex questions honestly. But adequate sex education from any source is still notably lacking for most adolescents. Most of them have to make do at best with a little biology plus what they are able to tell one another. This continuing obscurantism and dishonesty lives on because prudery lives on.

Because prudery excludes sex from life it runs the risk of excluding it from morality also. If just to feel passionately is designated as 'sex rearing its ugly head', what is the point of seeking to make something of value of human sexuality? By asking too much in the way of sexual inhibition on the one hand and, on the other, by forcing sex down into something ignoble, the prudes are provoking young people into discarding all principles in this sphere, apart from the self-protecting principle of avoiding pregnancy if possible. That so many young people conduct their sex lives with wisdom and

dignity is not because of the prudes but in spite of them. Prudery, like prohibition, promotes the very conditions it seeks to prevent.

Sex is one instance of a widespread source of confusion in our society — double-talk. Adolescents need things clear. Authorities of many kinds call upon youth to devote their energies to self-sacrificing causes. So far so good. Youth is eager to serve and service helps to develop the self-confidence and social maturity of youth. But youth will not be taken for a ride and so long as it sees adult society as a mad scramble to feather your own nest it does not know whether to be self-sacrificing or cynical and often havers between the two. This double-talk extends to the schools themselves. Talk of self-sacrifice and *esprit de corps* has a hollow ring when most of school life is directed to an individualized competitive struggle for whatever prizes are going.

Again what are young people to make of an appeal for wage restraint because the country is in economic peril when another page of the same newspaper announces some giant amalgamation or other in which millions of pounds change hands to the unmerited benefit of the few? Yet again, what are young workers supposed to make of appeals to effort when they know that, in their factory, all kinds of fiddles go on to keep orders flowing in and profit margins as wide as possible. There are some splendid industries in Britain run with integrity from top to bottom. But, unfortunately, not all young people are working in such industries. Can those who live amid sharp-practice be blamed if they see all life as a fiddle — a state in which 'they' will make a fool of you if you don't look out. This, incidentally, is the typical outlook of the young tough. There is a solid basis for it in the way some parts of society conduct their affairs.

Commercialism

The biggest delinquent of all in our society I have left until last — raw rampant commercialism. The young are growing up in a world which gives little attention to integrity so long as it pays to do the other thing. Lies can be told with impunity in advertisements. Shoddy products may be billed as superlatively manu-

factured. Poor quality may be hidden by a brash external glitter. Simple people are high-pressured into committing themselves to H.P. that exerts a strangle-hold over their lives and may land many in prison for debt.

At a time when we are short of skilled personnel of all sorts advertising outbids the social services for the kind of personnel both need. Building resources go into houses for the wealthy, while ordinary people can't get a couple of rooms to house themselves and their families. Luxury hotels go up with a bath in every room while thousands of families have no bath in their home at all. A newspaper may be brought to a sudden stop, a popular store pulled down, a good play killed, an invention suppressed, a book denied a reprint, all because it pays somebody to behave in this anti-social way.

As Professor Pear points out in his new book, *The Moulding of Modern Man*, the big financial interests are in a position to dictate what kind of society we shall have and in a position to brainwash us into accepting it. They want us to be malleable to their pressures. We are becoming so, not because it helps us to fulfil our lives but because it helps them to expand their profits. The young, growing up in this highly commercial climate, can hardly be criticized if they consider the rule of life is not 'Is it right?' or 'Is it good?' but 'Does it pay?' Isn't that the most obvious controlling axiom of our society?

One marvels at the moral resource of our young people that they are not more disrupted by this climate than they are. But consider how damaging such a climate to those marginal boys and girls whose social education and home circumstances have left them with little moral foundation.

What about those three young hooligans I mentioned at the beginning? Having taken a quick look at the society that fathered and reared them, having taken a glance at some of the sources of their rejection by society and their inner moral confusion, can we really wonder that they turn their strength and will against us, seeking assurance in their gang and significance in anti-social demonstrations? After all, what is

there in the climate of our society to rescue such young people? On the contrary, is not the way of life of our society powerfully influencing them to make the wrong choices in the control of their personal lives?

Conclusion

In spite of all that I have said, I am not pessimistic about the moral future of this country because I believe that democracy generates good relationships between people and opens up human potentialities so that moral truth emerges in the end. But the grave picture I have drawn will not correct itself. It will come right, if it does, because those who want it to come right use their democratic freedoms to see that it does. This is partly a matter of political struggle, partly a matter of intelligent social design.

The details of this I cannot consider now. But the general need is clear enough. In 1914 we discovered to our horror that the nation was going to pieces physically. What has happened since then in the field of health has produced a bigger, stronger, fitter set of adolescents than has existed within living history. We have now to raise the quality of education and the climate and purpose of our nation so that we provide around these splendid young people the means by which they may attain what Stead called 'full stature', as persons and citizens. The flight into delinquency, whether violent, sly, or in the form of compulsive promiscuity, is a reaction to some deep-set personal incompleteness, itself the outcome of an unbearable rebuff of some kind. This personal incompleteness may arise from the denial of love, the denial of achievement, the denial of recognition, the denial of value and personal significance, the denial of satisfying links with society, including world society, or lack of a clear picture of the individual's place and purpose in the world.

Acute denial of love we can do little about through education, apart from providing a palliative by making sure that the climate of the school is experienced as a loving one by every child. But achievement, recognition, personal significance, the understanding of society and the individual's role in it are within a school's power to give or withhold. If we seek

to reduce delinquency, the *primary* purpose of education at all stages must be to build towards every child's individual fulfilment as a person, in accordance with his age, aptitudes and abilities. This requires a revivifying of school curricula and practice, so that the work of the school may be life-centred and richly satisfying to the pupils, not something that goes on outside personal life and the life of society and the world. It requires bringing the hopes, fears, uncertainties, difficulties and aspirations of adolescents into the life of the school through discussion, an imaginative use of English and other subjects, and by other means. It requires clearing up the educational slum we offer to the intellectually mediocre child so that his education is persistently encouraging instead of persistently depressing.

There is much we *can* do as educators, but there is much we cannot do directly. There is much that is plainly the job of our leaders,

though we can prod them. It is to some of their delinquencies that I have sought to draw attention. They must stop thinking that pundit conferences and pious resolutions and handouts can ever be a substitute for putting their own houses in order, and those in authority might have the grace to stop sniping at the young and the parents of the young meanwhile.

The homes of a society and the young people of a society are both conditioned, to no small extent, by the values and way of life that society represents. Healthy, strong people, plus a commercialized, confused and basically aimless society, add up to growing frustration and rebellion among the young. Until we and our leaders accept that simple social equation and do our share of converting the negative to a positive, I find it hard to focus more than about twenty-five per cent, of the responsibility for smashing that glass door on the young man who did it.

Clare Soper

THOUGH *The New Era* is constantly sent to me, I receive copies only from time to time. In the last number which reached me I read a few lines in memory of Clare Soper who had recently passed away. Thus I learnt about the sudden death of our mutual friend and co-operator. For two decades I had the honour and pleasure to belong to and co-operate with the members of the N.E.F. But since 1945, in spite of being the representative of the Hungarian group and the co-editor of the Hungarian counter-part to *The New Era*, *The Ways of the Future*, I have been cut off from the N.E.F., not only physically, but also mentally. In spite of the barriers and impediments, Clare Soper's warm heart, her readiness to help, together with the spirit of noblest internationalism for which she stood in life and work, always found a way to overcome these barriers. When, after the siege of Budapest in which so many 'New Educators' had lost all their belongings, they came out of the shelters and ruins, Clare Soper, with her outstanding capacity for that kind of thing, created within a few weeks an organisation to help us, and I was able to distribute the most necessary

pieces of clothing to my co-operators. Later on, in her loving care and perseverance, she collected small objects of use (buttons, thread, etc) for us. In the first months of chaos these were valuable means of exchange for food.

As she used to conceal her warm heart behind the mask of impersonal objectivity, I presume that the parcels, sent later on to me personally, were only partly gifts of the NEF and partly her own.

There was no request, enquiry or problem with which I could not turn to her. Between 1925 and 1945 we met every second year at the International Conferences of the N.E.F. With what amount of tact did she not help us, the small Hungarian group, in all our difficulties. Later, in my many-sided organisational work, Clare Soper and her methods have always been my model. Here, in my isolation, Clare's personality became a symbol to me, a last link with my former friends and their noble spirit of world-citizenship. Many of us in the wide world are missing her, and looking after her light disappearing figure with tears in our eyes.

Marion Baloghy
Budapest

Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools

The Conference of Internationally-minded Schools will hold a pre-Easter conference, 17th--20th April at Unesco House, Paris, on *The Challenge to Education of a Divided World*. The divisions between Communist East and non-Communist West, and between the races of the ex-colonial countries and the white ex-imperialist powers, with special reference to Africa, will be the subjects to be introduced by guest speakers and discussed by members. As

a follow-up, a visit to Czechoslovakia in the first half of August is planned, with opportunities for contact with teachers.

Boys and girls over 16 years of age are to meet at Hamelin, in Northern Germany, for a Festival of Arts and Crafts, August 14th to 27th, 1962. Particulars of all these activities, in which readers of *The New Era* may well be interested, can be obtained from the Hon. Sec. Mr. F. W. Button, 5, Warwick Road, Reading, Berks.

News and Notes

U.S. Section

For the past eight years the New York Chapter of the New Education Fellowship has sponsored a conference for the teachers in the schools of the metropolitan area. NEF members in other chapters may be interested in the procedures used in organizing these conferences. We, in turn, would like to hear, in some descriptive detail, how other chapters carry on their activities.

The leadership, in the New York Chapter, and in the Conference, has over the years come from the teacher education institutions of the city — New York University, Teachers College Columbia University, Hofstra College, Bank Street College, and the four City Colleges which now are a part of the new City University of New York. However, we have a number of devoted members who teach in the public schools of the area or are working in the U.N., the local American Association for the United Nations, UNESCO Publications Center, and International Schools Foundation.

Conferences in recent years have dealt with the following themes:

- 1958 Constructive Approaches to the Middle East
- 1959 Focus on Africa
- 1960 Inside the U.N.
- 1961 Changes and Challenges in Latin America

1962 Conference on Africa (scheduled for March 24)

Planning begins at the first fall meeting of NEF members. Conference themes which have already been suggested are considered and one chosen. At this planning session a Conference Chairman is elected and program suggestions reviewed. From then on the Chairman of the Conference is in full charge. He, or she, is aided by members of the Chapter who volunteer to form the Planning Committee. This group meets repeatedly to hammer out the details of the program, choose chairmen of sections, etc., and to delegate specific responsibilities.

As the result of some years of experience the general plan for a conference is as follows:

- 9.00— 9.50 Registration, Coffee Hour, Film Showings, Curriculum Materials and Art Exhibits
- 10.00—12.15 General Session
Major Address, possibly a documentary or panel, with questions from the audience. The panel speakers for afternoon sessions are introduced.
- 12.30— 1.25 Box lunch and get acquainted sessions in the rooms to be used in the afternoon sections.

1.30— 3.10 Seven or eight sectional meetings on various themes appropriate to the Conference Themes — Industrialism and Land Reform, Religion Through Sacred Books, The U.N. and Technical Assistance, et cetera. Commonly two of the afternoon groups consider teaching relative to the Conference theme, at the elementary and secondary levels, or possibly deal with the preparation of college teachers.

In each of the afternoon groups from 2 to 4 experts present papers, which are followed by discussion. An attempt is also made to include foreign students as participants and audience members. Hostesses assist the Chairman in the afternoon.

3 : 30 Artistic production — songs, dances, drama
Although these yearly meetings require many hours of work by NEF members, the enthusiastic aid given by many people makes for

very real satisfaction. Distinguished citizens, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, sponsor the Conference. From 400 to 750 educators and laymen attend yearly. Teachers tell us that they are stimulated to do more in schools to promote international understanding. We believe that instruction in the local teacher education institutions reflect the sustained interest of NEF members in the development of a more enlightened and humane outlook which the Conferences are intended to promote.

The New York Chapter of the NEF has not as yet followed up in any systematic way what does happen in schools and teacher educational institutions as a result of our yearly effort. We would especially like to hear from other Chapters, through *The New Era* or directly, how others stimulate and evaluate comparable projects in their own Chapters.

Samuel Everett

President, New York Chapter, NEF
(The City College, New York 31, N.Y., U.S.A.)

Book Reviews

Human Behaviour: A New Approach, Claire and W.M.S. Russell André Deutsch 42s. 0d.

ANY ATTEMPT to deepen our understanding of the complexities of human behaviour is to be welcomed and the new approach claimed by the Russells looked particularly promising when one knew that Dr. Russell began his career with scholarships in Greek and in Classics and English Literature at New College, and later took a First in Zoology, and went on to do research in this field, and that his wife Claire Russell has been a psychoanalyst for many years. For this reason I picked the book up eagerly but have to confess to laying it down at the end with mingled feelings of excitement, frustration and disappointment.

Disappointment because there is a crying need for bridge-builders who can operate for our enlightenment over the gaps which exist between the various growing bodies of knowledge and theory which are relevant to a fuller understanding of human nature, and these

writers seemed admirably equipped to undertake some bridge-building between animal and human psychology, and between behaviouristic and psychoanalytically orientated theories. For me, however, bridges were not built, for though Dr. Russell's discussions of the findings of students of animal behaviour were of great interest and valuable in their own right, they occurred alongside the psychoanalytic interpretations rather than illuminating them.

Frustration because one was constantly being required to move from one realm of discourse into another, to accept on the one hand the interpretations of a highly intuitive psychoanalyst and on the other theories based on disciplined scientific inquiry. While personally accepting the validity of both kinds of inquiry and believing that there is more than one way of knowing, I find it difficult to be asked to move so frequently between them, and feel that the book suffers from being too heterogeneous. Evidence in support of the main argument is presented from zoology, psychology, history,

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literature and everyday life, and the mixture serves to confuse rather than illuminate.

Excitement also, however, because I found much in the psycho-analytic interpretation which seemed to me to be deeply penetrating and illuminating; and this is a book I shall return to often in spite of the reservations I have about it.

The authors themselves state that though they have written in a somewhat dogmatic style, the context is descriptive and should not be treated as explanatory. They hold that nearly all of what we know of human behaviour is still in a descriptive stage and their aim has been to present an argumentation which can be checked by the reader against everyday social experience.

It is difficult to condense the argument into a few sentences but it runs something like this: Behaviour can be classified as 'instinctive' or automatic (as in lower animals), or as 'intelligent' (as in fully-human, self-conscious, civilized beings). Most of us as adults live disturbingly automatic lives, and this is not for want of creative and imaginative gifts; for nearly all of us show these qualities when we are children. What has gone wrong? Is there an inevitable process of senescence or deterioration to which we are all subject, or can we call a halt to it, and retain as adults the freedom and flexibility of children? What makes us human is our capacity for exploration and creative communication. What factors place a limit on these activities? Man is distinguished from the animals by his capacity for intelligent behaviour which provides him with a capacity for freedom and

escape from their automation, but also makes possible the process of rationalization, a corruption of intelligence whereby we persuade ourselves that we are acting freely when our behaviour is most automatic and compulsive.

Rationalization is a function of the defence system the individual builds to help him to come to terms with his social environment. Once it is built up it becomes a matter of self-esteem to maintain it, and his capacity for fantasy aids him in this process. Intelligence is intimately connected with the capacity for communication which may be used for constructive or destructive ends, and may be either primarily co-operative or primarily competitive and exploitative. It is the social situation which strains the intelligence system and most generally provokes instinctive reactions and rationalization. Thus when dealing with other people the reactions of the individual can often be likened to the animal reaction to key stimuli, and when looking for the key to the origin of impairment of intelligence one must look at the earliest social situation which man experiences in the family.

Patterns of behaviour can be transmitted down a pedigree, as the parents of each generation influence their child in ways predetermined by their own experience at the hands of their own parents. The present degree of human progress is due to the fact that the behaviour of parents in general to their children is co-operative and loving. If parental attitudes were wholly co-operative every individual would freely develop his intelligence, and successive interference with instructive mechanisms and their rationalization would never occur.

The central problem is therefore that of accounting for competitive and exploitative or hostile attitudes of parents to children, and the resulting unconscious and preconscious deceptive behaviour, whereby the children become fixated and drawn into the fantasy world of their parents, thus ensuring the perpetuation of the fantasies. For the authors, the key to the fixity of behaviour of inheritance is in what they call pseudosex, a process of appeasement of the parents, which gives rise to the development of a whole structure of rigid instinctive mechanisms, later to be reinforced and finally shaped

in the critical period of adolescence.

The authors claim that a recognition of this state of affairs could lead to a continually evolving and progressive state of mind in the individual, with a corresponding state of society. 'It is now our opportunity and our necessity to assume control of our own evolution, and this can only come about by our emancipation as individuals. For if everyone of us can be brought to explore for him- or herself, to break down defence systems and assume personal freedom from the automatic control of behavioural inheritance, the resulting culture will be for the first time not contingently but inherently progressive. In such a world, we shall be able, for the first time, to act individually and collectively, as free agents in the pursuit of happiness...

Only by full realization of our present slavery can we become free in the future. To this end every individual among us must explore, so that the whole concept of power-group vanishes from human history, and science and art become coextensive with human life. To such a species, all things will be possible.'

Perhaps the real source of difficulty for your reviewer is that she is unable to accept the optimism of the humanist and the Gospel according to Man. If one sees the human struggle as an event in a greater pattern which transcends time and space, and man's destiny in something greater than himself, then one does not hope only for a refining of the mental capacities of man, but for a quickening of his spirit.

E. M. Churchill

Zur Psychologie des Geschichtsunterrichts - Waltraut Küppers, Hans Huber, Berne, Switzerland, Swiss Franks 17.50.

This book about the psychology of teaching history by a German Lecturer in a German Teacher's Training College is primarily for the use of German teachers, but much of what the author says is also of value for others.

For a number of years after the Second World War, many German teachers did not like teaching history, and many German parents had no use for it. Before the First World War and during the Twenties it had been a favourite subject with teachers and pupils. This was one of the reasons for Waltraut Küpper's investigation. Another was her conviction that the teaching of history is of educational value.

She used three methods to discover what pupils thought about history in primary, secondary and Grammar schools in three different German towns. She talked to them, gave them essays to write, and set questionnaires. She named for example, a historic personality — Luther, Bismarck, or Hitler — and asked the pupils to say what they knew about him and what had happened in the world while he was alive. Another method was to mention events, such as the discovery of America, the Thirty Years War or the Second World War. The third method was to ask about technical development or communications in

the past compared with the present. About 1400 school essays were analysed.

Several questionnaires had been formulated with the help of Students and, after many trials, the best of them was chosen. One of the aims was to discover how much children of different ages knew. It became clear that, without apparent influence from parents and schools, certain periods were felt by children of all ages as 'dark and non-friendly', others as 'very beautiful'.

The investigators tried to discover which historic personalities were found interesting. It is gratifying that not only 'the strong leader and fighter' — for instance Napoleon — made a strong appeal, but also, though not often, men and women of peace, such as Elsa Brandström, Albert Schweitzer, and Heinrich Pestalozzi.

Younger children were found to be more interested in people than in events, and in antiquity and the Middle Ages than in more conventional history. Only the more mature pupils were interested in modern times. 'This raises the question whether children can be taught history beginning with the present time, which has been suggested; the author adds that this suggestion arises from adult preoccupations. She was interested to discover whether boys and girls differed in their attitude to the subject. Younger boys usually knew more than girls of the same age, and girls were the more

interested in people. The younger children saw and described people and events as 'good' or as 'bad'. 'Only some of the older ones were able to make qualifications.'

The children were asked where, outside school, they heard anything about history. Unlike the school of fifty years ago, the school of to-day was found to have had no decisive influence. Radio, films, books, newspapers, magazines, Youth organizations, theatre, even 'comics' play a greater part. For some people it may perhaps seem strange that the home appears to have no particular influence.

Abstract notions such as Socialism or the Weimar Republic have no great appeal. What most children want is drama and action. What is distant in place and time arouses greater interest than what is near. It became quite clear that knowledge is a function of interest — a fact sometimes forgotten by teachers.

One of the main findings of the investigation was that history should not be taught merely as a catalogue of cold facts. Events and people must be taught alive, by stimulating the emotions and firing the imaginations of the young.

The book is a sober and honest attempt, carried out with meticulous care, to evaluate the present state of history-teaching in German schools, and its impact on the rising generation. It contains many statistics and much food for thought.

Wilhelm Viola

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IN HOME AND SCHOOL

The Status of Teachers in the U.S.S.R. *

A. Elizabeth Adams, General Inspector of Education to the Surrey County Council

THE Soviet commitment to education, as the title of an official U.S. report¹ has it, stems from the need to raise the productivity of the country by means approved in Marxist-Leninist doctrines. Since education is seen as the key to the development of the economy of the Soviet Union, much of the country's money has been poured into establishing a complex system of pre-school, school and higher education, with a number of other educational services, employing between them over a million and a half qualified teachers. Nowadays, probably between ten and fifteen per cent. of the national income is channelled into education of all types.

Previously, although Czarist Russia had a well-established educational system, it was not broadly based. For a large part of the country, therefore, and for a high proportion of the population, the Communist era has provided first generation formal education. It has been claimed, for instance, that in the Tajik Socialist Soviet Republic there are now three thousand schools, with seven higher and twenty-two vocational secondary schools, not to mention an Academy of Sciences, and that these cater for a population which, at the outbreak of the First World War, was almost completely illiterate.

Such an example is only an extreme case of what is fairly general in many parts of the Soviet Union; and it is not as though educational provision were the only burden on Soviet finance. Educational buildings, equipment and staffing have been budgeted for in competition with other enormous demands on the national income: an income which at the beginning of the revolutionary era scarcely existed.

The history of the first forty years or so of Communism in the Soviet Union has been that of the struggle to develop both its natural and its human resources. In the early days, ad-

ministrators-in-a-hurry hoped to achieve higher productivity while neglecting or short-cutting education. This phase ended in the early thirties. More recently, education had become so established that there was a danger of its becoming an end in itself. Since December 1958, this tendency has been officially checked under the Law on Establishing Closer Links between School and Life and on the Further Development of Public Education.

Throughout this history, however, teachers have been recognized — albeit grudgingly at some periods — as key workers for the welfare of the nation. In this general context their status and morale stand high and their overall motivation is strong and clear. In 1918 Lenin said: 'A teacher of the people should occupy a high position such as he never occupied, does not and cannot occupy, in a bourgeois society. This truth needs no proof.' At the 1960 All-Union Congress of Teachers, over forty years later, Krushchev said: 'Each (communist) party and Soviet worker, despite his position, has to remember that he owes much to school and to teachers.'

What helps both teachers and pupils to keep the picture uncluttered is the comparative absence in the Soviet Union of negative influences militating against education, — the fact that 'the U.S.S.R. has ... escaped the large-scale commercialization of the moron', as Alec Nove puts it in *The Soviet Economy*.² Money has been withheld from consumer goods, from debilitating commercial advertising, and from the titillating influences of pornographic paperbacks. Instead of women's magazines, racing news and crime fiction, people strap-hanging in the Moscow Metro read serious hard-backed

* This is part of a forthcoming book on Communist Education to be edited by Dr. Edmund King, and published by Methuen, and we are grateful to author, editor, and publisher for permission to use this extract. Ed.

¹ *Soviet Commitment to Education*. Bulletin 1959 Number 16. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Office of Education.

² Alec Nove: *The Soviet Economy*. George Allen & Unwin 1961.

books and *Pravda*; while young apprentices and even working girls may be seen studying textbooks connected with their part-time or correspondence courses. Much of what is read may be dull; it may be lacking in art for all I know (not being a Russian scholar): the point at issue is that the reading matter is not pulling in a direction opposite to that of the teachers or of the education system.

Supporting the pragmatic necessities of the economy are the doctrines of Communism which are studied in every school and college. Every student, teacher and administrator in U.S.S.R. has passed examinations in Marxist-Leninism. Every school child is surrounded by quotations from their 'gospels'. In the doctrines, learning is enshrined as a good thing in itself. Under the glass tops of library tables or surrounding the dais on the school platform are exhortations to study and to labour. Lenin is the father-figure in education: his bust or statue is prominent in every school. He was himself master of several languages and a considerable scholar, while his wife Krupskaya was an enlightened authority on education. Had it not been for their explicit doctrines, it is by no means certain that the Soviet Union would have established anything comparable with its present educational machinery.

In the early days of Communism, in the twenties and early thirties, there were many experiments and much confusion in education. But what emerged from all this experience was the conviction that Lenin and Krupskaya had been right. The Soviet authorities came to realize that no short-term or makeshift policies in education would carry them through the process of building a new nation. They realized that if the national aims of increased production, adequate defence and improved standard of living were to be brought within their grasp, then good academic standards had to be widely attained in the schools.

The task of educators was accordingly to provide learning, i.e. knowledge and the skills to use and increase it. Therefore a pattern of education was laid down which was maintained for more than a quarter of a century. Thus Soviet teachers are a respected group, with the status due to key workers in the struggle for

the economic uplift of the country as a whole.

In a sense they share such importance with all peasants and workers, each of whom is supposed to feel himself as an important cog in the whole production machine. But it is, of course, not certain that everyone does feel this significance. Yet there is still about Soviet effort a kind of back-to-the-wall, pull-for-the-shore desperation which one feels in Western countries only during official wars. For the Soviet people it has been war-time to all intents and purposes ever since they remember. As they see it, their country has been surrounded by enemies and their only hope, first of survival, then of an improved standard of living, lies in disciplined collective effort: in putting first things first.

The present status of teachers in the Soviet Union relates largely to this pattern of a quarter of a century. Within it they fulfil a respected and traditional role. They do what almost all the world of laymen expects of teachers: they keep order, teach from text books, set homework, evaluate and report on the pupils' progress, and discuss their problems with the school Principal. All this they do in a fairly fixed routine of class-lessons, free periods and teachers' meetings.

They appear to maintain discipline without undue strain. This success may be due in part to the system of correcting pupils' work. Both classwork and written work are assessed out of five marks by the teacher, marks of two or one being considered as failures. The Principal's attention is drawn at once to any pupil who receives low marks at all frequently, and he 'helps' the pupil to make greater efforts, the initial assumption always being that lack of scholastic success is the result of laziness. If the pupil's retardation continues, his failure may be reported to the parents. It can come up for consideration by the school committee, by a parents' committee; eventually by a committee of neighbours in the child's home area, or even by a committee of the factory or place of work of one or other of his parents. All along the line, classroom discipline and attention to school work are thus reinforced. The pupil is soon made aware of the serious view of his work taken not only by his class-teacher but by all the other adults in his world.

In his turn, the teacher who is beginning to be careless in his work or to feel that certain pupils are 'hopeless' is quickly reminded that he is expected to achieve learning among a very high proportion of his pupils. His failure to do so will reflect not only on the pupil but on himself. Whilst the responsibility lies with the teacher to help to identify pupils suffering from brain damage or physical defects, the eventual ascertainment of such handicaps by specialist diagnosticians is on a conservative scale. A Soviet teacher is not encouraged to call out for remedial treatment from elsewhere for his mal-adjusted pupils with learning problems. He is expected to cope with the situation and to achieve some success in terms of measurable academic attainment by practically everyone in his class.

The role of the teacher is nowadays clearly defined — as it was not in the twenties — and the daily life of the school is definitely patterned. If he teaches younger children below the age of about eleven years, he takes his (reasonable-sized) class for all their work. If he is teaching at Secondary level he gives instruction in the one or two subjects for which he has academic qualifications. In either case he works to a defined time-table, a clear curriculum, with particular text-books, aiming to cover a certain body of knowledge by mainly the age-old read and discuss, question and answer, revise and repeat, write and correct, mark and record, talk and chalk methods of schools the world over.

The roles of everyone connected with education are equally clearly defined, from the entering pupil aged seven to the school Principal: from the chief administrator to the part-time cleaner.

As soon as children begin attending school they are taught the 'Rules for Pupils'³ which obtain in every Soviet school. There are twenty of these and they lay down definite instructions for behaviour in school. It is, for example, the duty of every school child 'to sit upright during the lesson, not leaning on his elbows and not slouching; to listen attentively to the teacher's explanation and the other children's answers, and not to talk or let his attention stray to other

things.' The stated purpose of the child's coming to school is 'to acquire knowledge persistently in order to become an educated and cultured citizen and to be of the greatest possible service to his country.'

Some of the rules flow over from school life to the child's other spheres; he is admonished about punctuality, cleanliness, tidiness, respect to elders, care of property, kindness to younger children. At least one of the rules may be a little premature for the seven-year olds: not to smoke and not to gamble; but no doubt the pupils accept it with the same tolerance with which young children in our culture learn that they are not to commit adultery.

The younger children attend for a shorter day at first, but apart from that, the general routine of school with its adherence to the rules and associated code of honour continues for all on the established lines. The forty-five minute 'hour' lessons are separated by ten or fifteen minutes of talk and movement. Homework is introduced at once and the homework timetable is compulsory for all. The pupils and teachers alike are trained to keep records of the work and of the marks given for it. A standard printed 'Diary' the size of an exercise book is used by every pupil. This treasured possession is ruled so that with six lines to a day and three days to a page the week's record can be seen at a glance. The mark one to five for each hour's work has to be initialled by the teacher. There are spaces for notes on absence, lateness, illness, as well as for the teacher's comments and the parent's signature.

Changes in the curriculum are not the responsibility of any individual. Any real educational 'experiment' or 'research' is initiated from above, i.e., by authorities external to the school personnel. When a school is selected for this, the school staff follow the lead and have the support of the authority, which has also to bear the brunt of any opposition, criticism or failure. An example here might be the selection by the authorities of School Number One in Moscow as an English School. Whereas in most schools English or another foreign language is begun when the pupils have completed four years of school, in School Number One, English is begun in the second year, with

³ Quoted from: *The Changing Soviet School*. Edited by George Z. Bereday, Wm. W. Brickman and Gerald H. Read. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 1960.

special text books. The aim is to achieve such mastery of the language (by pupils and teachers) as will allow several subjects of the curriculum, such as geography, to be taught in English by the time the pupils are about fourteen.

No doubt a school's being singled out for an experiment can cause anxiety and additional work to the Principal and teachers in such a case as that quoted above. The point at issue is that whilst they are of course expected to be utterly loyal to the policy decision of their authority, they are not also burdened with responsibility for initiating major changes in the curriculum. Except in matters of comparative detail, Soviet teachers and school Principals are not 'burdened' with policy making about what goes on even in their own school. The staff and Head have an important function in making official policy work and in helping pupils and parents to accept educational experiments: but they can hardly put themselves into a vulnerable position by going all out on some new educational line of their own, as can happen in England in private and, to some extent, even in State schools.

The anxiety apart, it is obvious that school staffs are often proud to be involved in some research. It adds interest to the daily work, brings notable visitors to the school, and opens the way for public discussion of their success. All this helps to build up the teachers' self-esteem and to focus local attention positively on the work of education. Since the project is officially-sponsored, changes come down the line — perhaps apparently capriciously — but at least they are not interrupted, for example by the appointment of a new Principal or an increase in the number of pupils. Moreover, extra staff or relief in other ways are almost certain to be given to help the teachers to get to grips with their new problems, such as the learning of text books in a foreign language.

Of course teachers both here and in the Soviet Union have other means than direct experiment of carrying into action their ideas for improved education. They can write articles for educational journals; prepare papers for education discourses; or submit suggestions to the appropriate officer, committee or council.

In any country an educational administration

which fails to take note of the more intelligent criticism and suggestions from its practising teachers is riding for a fall; for the resulting loss in the ardour and goodwill of both Principals and teachers will reduce incalculably the effectiveness of the work of the schools.

In this regard the lines of communication in the Soviet Union appear to be more open than many visitors or critics suspect. Although at any one time the system of Soviet education looks extremely rigid, yet there is a normal expectancy of change. This can be seen for example in the constant revision of text books. Some of those in use in U.S.S.R. may at a casual glance look old-fashioned. Many of them are cheaply produced on poor paper with rather small illustrations and little colour; but the books in use are up-to-date, and the standard of production is rising. Revising curricula and producing text books is a serious undertaking to which the concentrated efforts of numbers of educational experts are constantly devoted. Since the committees responsible for text books are anxious to meet the real needs of teachers, each new book before it is published for general use, is tried out in hundreds of schools and may be revised to meet the criticisms and to incorporate the best suggestions of the teachers in those schools.

As well as meeting these expressed needs, the text books are an important vehicle for spreading new curricula. A teacher of English with whom I discussed text books in Kiev knew in September 1958 that new books were pending and she was looking forward with some eagerness to receiving them. When they became available as expected, she very courteously sent me samples, pointing out where the new books were better. I mention this detail only to illustrate the point that ordinary class room teachers are aware when new text books and curricula are imminent: some of them even feel involved in helping to make the changes.

The more far-reaching changes which were anticipated in 1958 were also (to some extent) under discussion among teachers before they passed into law on 24th December.

Although the words being bandied about at this time were mainly to do with technical developments, the real issue which the Soviet

teacher has had to face is much bigger. Recent changes in the law have brought him right up against the fact — tacitly denied in schools in many countries — that the school is not fulfilling its function if it become a static society and an end in itself. A school is a changing milieu in which dependent children grow towards a life of adult service.

Whatever changes are made in the role or functions of the teacher, two points remain important in the Soviet Union: the teacher is kept clearly apprised of what he is expected to do and he can be sure that his work will not fall outside the range of what is thought of by teachers as 'professional' work.

Teachers, of course, share the very special responsibility which all adult Soviet citizens are supposed to accept for the moral guidance of the younger generation; but the teacher's part in this has to be achieved through the content of the curriculum and through the normal discipline of the classroom.

It is this exclusively professional function of teachers which helps to give them status. Within the school they are identified with the holy purposes of education pure and simple. Other qualified persons fulfil a variety of ancillary and of menial tasks. This system helps to place the teacher at the top of the hierarchy, whilst of course giving him the chance to do his job adequately without distractions. In a well-equipped, well staffed town school there are, in addition to what in England would be named the Headmaster, Deputy and assistant teachers: a chief training teacher, librarian, nurse, visual-aids or other technician, part-(up to half-) time doctor, administrative officer and deputy, as well as clerical and domestic helpers.

The exact staffing ratio varies. Good schools, including experimental schools, appear to be heavily used as training grounds; and the internship, apprenticeship, or practice system of learning a profession results in large numbers of staff in many institutions, including schools.

What is important, however, is that all these people, and I am here only concerned with teachers, have their definite role and duties. They know what to do. Other people also know what the teachers are expected to do and the whole system perpetuates itself and carries on

with a momentum engendered by custom.

All this means that in the Soviet Union the public image of teachers as well-qualified, competent professional persons is not too often damaged by stories of weakness or ineptitude.

In our own country nothing is more prejudicial to the status of teachers in the eyes of parents than sons and daughters revealing at home that certain teachers cannot keep order; that old so and so never really teaches anything; or that no teacher turned up to give a certain lesson and the children had a high old time; unless it is when stories of indiscipline in school reach the press or are made into films of the type of *Blackboard Jungle*. Such stories also undermine the confidence of the student teacher and the self-picture even of experienced teachers.

It is of great benefit to the status of teachers in U.S.S.R. that under the Soviet system teachers are thought of as being generally fairly successful. The impression at least is gained that few of them are obviously incapable of maintaining discipline or are blatantly unable to get through their quota of work.

No one of course would deny that in having in their classes many children from illiterate homes Soviet teachers are up against a major problem without parallel in present-day Britain. What, however, we are unable to judge, is whether Soviet teachers as a whole are more or less intelligent than their opposite numbers in the West. We are equally without sufficient basis of facts to estimate the turn-over of staff, the wastage from the profession, and the incidence of health, including mental health, problems.

There is nothing however in what I have seen or read to indicate that Soviet teachers are not fairly comparable with teachers anywhere. They do not include many of the top-flight intelligences — or not for long — but they do appear to include a high proportion of people of considerable good will and fair intelligence for whom teaching is a life's work and a way of life. A number of teachers to whom I was introduced had spent many years in the same school. They were as engrossed in the welfare of their pupils and in the day-to-day trivia of their job as any teachers anywhere.

Because her letter illustrates so perfectly the

attitudes and preoccupations of a Soviet teacher, I cannot resist quoting just as it stands a letter received in November 1961 by an English private boarding school teacher from her pen friend in the Ukraine. Only the salutations are omitted:

'I got your letter a week ago but had no time to answer it. You are quite right, promotions mean a great deal of extra work. I am busy all day long and when I come home in the evening I am overtired. But still it is a very interesting work. To begin with our boarding school — it is a new one. It is here in Kiev, not far from my home and in a very beautiful place. There is a great park there and our school is quite near it. We shall have only boarders — we are going to welcome our pupils in a couple of weeks. For these two months we have been working hard trying to make a real good home for our children. There are more than 60 teachers and tutors at the school. We take care of everything, — painting desks and planting trees, buying flowers, visual aids, toys, books, pictures, carpets, crockery, mirrors, coats, dresses, blankets, etc. etc. Of course there are people who are busy with these things but we are to help them, to prompt them, to control them. Every little detail must be looked at as we want our boarding school to be an excellent one. Then we must arrange their documents for payment. The thing is that parents pay for their children and it depends upon the wages parents get. If there are some children in the family they pay little. If the wages are high and there is one child only the parents are to pay more. Of course the children have the same conditions of life and food and dressing.

There are 30 pupils at every class. They have one teacher if it is the first to the fourth form, and two tutors. The fifth to the eighth forms have different teachers, as it depends on the subjects the pupils are taught, and two tutors too.

Then we have a staff of cooks and a doctor and some nurses etc. There are three buildings connected — a building of bedrooms and game-rooms, a school and a dining-room with a kitchen. When the weather is good my friend will take some pictures of our new school and I'll send you some.

When I wish to rest I re-read my English novels and it is a fine rest.

If you read the books I have sent you write your opinion about them. I should like to know what you like among them.'

This dedicated teacher has evidently gained some well-earned step on the ladder of promotion. What of the slightly less devoted, less hard-working general run of teachers? How is their best contribution to education ensured?

In my view, for these average Soviet teachers there is great value in the clear definition of role and function which I have described as being now typical of the system of public education. Neither in the Soviet Union, nor in

any other progressive country, is it reasonable to expect every classroom to be manned by a person exhibiting all the desirable characteristics of the perfect teacher. One task of the administration is to clarify educational policy and communicate it to the teachers, so that they are as effective as possible: and, one might add, for as long as possible.

This question of 'effectiveness' is full of difficulty. The measure of a teacher's value is in the all-round progress of his pupils: but this, in turn, is not capable of reliable assessment.

This feature of the work of a teacher, the fact that his 'productivity value' cannot be calculated, leaves education at the mercy of the theorists — and worse. Perhaps, however, some lessons for educational management can be gleaned from industrial practice, since nobody can gainsay that in industry the effectiveness of the management is reflected in some degree in the output of each firm. In this connection the following quotation from the 'Objectives of the Glacier Project'⁴ seems relevant:

'...Managerial effectiveness is partly a function of the personality and character of the manager. Training can do little to change these personal qualities.

'A manager's behaviour is, however, strongly influenced by the correctness of definition of the role he occupies, the relationship of this role to other roles in the total system, the terms of reference governing his role and the degree to which the manager understands these matters. Modification and clarification of such conditions can, therefore, produce significant changes in managerial behaviour and effectiveness. Moreover, these conditions can be scientifically studied and taught...'

I am not sure that the Russians are 'scientifically studying and teaching' 'these conditions' in the sense in which these phrases are used by Glacier; but I have gained the impression that there is in effect a continuing definition, clarification and communication of his role to the Soviet teacher which gives him confidence, harnesses his energies, and promotes his self-respect.

It has been pointed out that not every serving teacher is a scholar-saint. Nor, if it come to that, is every Soviet school pupil.

But just as the administration has structured a system which gives fair support even to quite

⁴ Quoted on the cover of the Prospectus of the Glacier Project of the Glacier Institute of Management, 1961.

average teachers, so in the classroom the basic assumption has to be that all the pupils can do the work: with adequate teaching and encouragement almost every boy and girl can be enabled to master the curriculum at least to the point of attaining minimum pass marks.

Except for the few children who receive separate (special) education on account of brain damage or by reason of some other severe handicap, every pupil begins a foreign language or two. All embark upon mathematics and science. The programme is there for all without distinction of sex, race or ability level.

As in State systems in most other countries, teachers in the Soviet Union have little or no choice in the matter of which pupils they will teach. A pupil who makes little or no progress may eventually be expelled, but except in fairly extreme cases the teachers have to keep on trying with those with whom their work seems unrewarding: they can neither avoid them within the system, nor get rid of them out of it.

Whilst this leaves the question of status equal among teachers in general, the inability to choose or select the pupils means that the area of professional choice is more obviously limited than it is in countries where some teachers achieve higher status through working only with selected pupils. In the U.S.S.R. there are selected schools, but these are only for pupils with marked aesthetic gifts. In such schools, special work in music, dancing and/or art is added to the curriculum of ordinary schools. Teachers in boarding schools are in a rather special position: but not from the point under discussion. A boarding school is intended to serve the needs of, for instance, a collective farm or of the orphans in a city. Entry or not to the school is decided by the authorities, the teachers concerned having no say in the matter.

To sum up: not only have Soviet teachers no power to select pupils: they have no choice of curriculum. The text-books they use are prescribed by the State; the system of correction and assessing of class work and homework is defined and the general formal way of conducting class lessons is laid down, as are the sanctions for school discipline.

These features have been established by the Ministries for Elementary and Higher Education

and are universal. Soviet teachers accept these conditions unquestioningly along with winter snow and summer heat. Despite them, teachers answer in the affirmative when asked by foreigners if they exercise discretion in their work; if they share responsibility for their programme; and if they can use their initiative on behalf of their pupils. Let me indicate that there is at least some substance in these claims.

Quite certainly the Principal has some discretion over the time-table and the general conduct of the school. In regard to these matters he is expected, perhaps required, to call regular meetings of the teaching staff. Through these meetings teachers feel they have some say in administrative decisions affecting their work.

Teachers are also called into consultation in connection with the progress of their classes, of their subject, or of individual pupils. Within the school their opinions and advice are officially sought in matters which immediately involve them.

School examinations very intimately concern Soviet teachers as well as their pupils, since the practice is for the teachers to play a part in the State examining process. The main topics to be examined are decided upon by the Central authority. These are sent to the schools some weeks in advance of the examination dates and, within those topics, the examples or particular questions to be answered by the pupils are made up by the teachers.

Alert teachers can, however, find ways to stretch their professional wings. Text books are always being written or revised, and every book is tried out widely before being officially adopted. Where such books are tried out the teachers are invited to make criticisms and suggestions. Making such pertinent observations on new text books is one of the means whereby an able teacher can become noticed outside his own school.

Other opportunities are given for able teachers to show their quality at 'pedagogical readings' at which teachers' papers are read aloud to an audience. Where it seems justified, the State will publish and distribute such a paper.

Any teacher may, of course, write a text-book, but its use in school depends upon the approval of and publication by, the State.

This scope for engaging in educational research and curriculum development broadens the horizon of the above-average teacher and may serve to draw him into a higher echelon. The opportunity for upward mobility if he prove competent and acceptable in the task is not dependent upon the particular personnel of the school or upon the chance circumstance of a good or bad Principal, but is understood to be open to all, through teachers' circles, clubs and in-service centres connected with Pedagogical Institutes, or with the Educational and Scientific Workers' Union.

All teachers belong to the same Union as all others engaged in the work of education. This Union accordingly embraces personnel ranging from school cleaners to University professors, from laboratory technicians to research engineers. Within it, all are 'workers' by definition, but it is obvious that some are high prestige workers. Near the top of the ladder University professors in the Soviet Union have very high salaries.

The question is whether or not Soviet school teachers tip the scale towards professional standing. In any country teachers form so large a group that they seem to 'dilute' the ranks of professional staff by sheer weight of numbers, and the more select professions are often keen to deny them such status.

To some extent the status of teachers in any culture relates to the status of women. Where women's status is low, that of the teachers as a whole is inclined to suffer; or else the profession becomes so divided that its status-as-a-whole can scarcely be discussed. Since in the Soviet Union the status of women is high, the fact of the teaching profession's being predominantly female is not a depressing influence on its general standing. From this point of view teachers as a whole in the Soviet Union benefit from its being what G. Rattray Taylor⁵ describes as a 'Matrist' society: i.e. one which, among other characteristics, gives high status to women and accords high esteem to research.

In the Soviet Union, however, the status of teachers in general appears to be higher than that, for instance, of medical doctors; and my view is that the teachers, if not yet all fully accepted as professionals, are well on the way to being so.

Teaching in the Soviet Union offers the security and the career possibilities associated with professional status. No doubt conditions vary from school to school with differences in local administrative personnel, but the general structure of the educational system is universally the same and within it the life and career of a teacher can be respected and satisfying.

5 *Sex in History*

An Inspector Calls

By a Head Teacher

TEN YEARS AGO this year, in fact ten years ago to-day, I rightly earned outlawry from the History teachers in my native town.

I was then teaching in a large Secondary School and after break I was due to take III. 4 for History. My Record Book said that the lesson was to be on 'Tudor England'. In fact I intended to tell the story of Mary Queen of Scots, and then the class was going to copy down a brief note about her misfortunes and her sins.

Just as I was about to start the lesson, in walked the headmaster. With him was a very tall hatchet-faced individual in a dark suit. He later earned a great name for himself in some turbulent outpost of Empire. He was then an

H.M.I. 'This is Mr. H.M.I.', said the head, 'I thought he would like to hear your lesson.'

My sins had caught up with me. In ten years of teaching I had never encountered one of Her Majesty's Inspectors. The only one I knew was a retired one who attended our chapel and who, when efforts were being made to move our chapel to a more suitable site, had rallied together enough old members, never to be seen amongst the normal congregation of six to ten, to defeat the proposals.

This inspector I knew had a reputation for being very critical. I did a quick think. On the spur of the moment I changed the lesson to a

subject I knew he was likely to be very ignorant about. I embarked on a lesson about a Tudor yeoman's house, which had somehow survived in the very unlovely environs of the industrial town I was working in. There may have been gasworks where once the grounds were, but the house itself was a gem. It had been preserved by a local ironmaster who gave it to the Town Council, who had filled it with stuffed birds and opened it as a Museum.

The stuffed birds attracted the children and I knew a number had a good working knowledge of the place. We had periodic complaints about their behaviour there on Saturday mornings.

So the class had a good dose. Whilst I discussed the methods of construction and where the building materials had come from, the hatchet faced man made copious notes and examined the exercise books. I managed to work in the Civil War and the uses the look-out tower had then, Wesley's visit and the trees cut down to build the very ugly chapel opposite the school, where the good food intended for our school dinners suffered cooking.

The Inspector stopped writing when I got on to the lurid details of how one former owner of the house had skewered to death his cook in one of the attics, and how another had kept an errant daughter locked in one room until she died, all for the love of a man. A child reminded me of the secret hiding place for valuables.

Five minutes before the end of the lesson, instead of the usual notes, the class had a revision test about what they had learned. This I collected to mark instead of letting the children do their own marking.

At 'Home Time' the children dashed off leaving me to face the wrath of the Inspector. He was delighted. It was so unusual to hear a lesson with a local flavour. It was a terrible waste of time for children to copy notes. How sensible it was that I had given the children a test on the work. He certainly was impressed.

So was my headmaster. . . . So was the deputy headmaster. I was told that these faceless men from Whitehall whom teachers call 'the common enemies' can do you a power of good.

That chance lesson may have helped me to become a head, but at the time it made me the

most unpopular history teacher in the Borough. The Inspector instead of forgetting the lesson advised almost every history teacher in the district to embark on Local History. He even suggested, wherever he went, how much useful History could be gleaned from the history of this old house.

As a Head I have learned other things about inspectors. They are fallible. Indeed at the first Head Teachers' meeting I attended, there was a team of inspectors answering spontaneous questions. The first question came from a Head of very long experience: 'What should we do, when we get contradictory advice from H.M.I.'s about the same subject?'

There was the case of our Woodwork. An individual who slunk into my office like an apologetic C.I.D. man, informed me that, as our numbers were rising and we had only one Woodwork room, the Ministry would advise 'as a temporary expedient' depriving our first and second year pupils of Woodwork and giving it to third and fourth year classes only. In other words the one subject our youngsters loved doing was to be taken away from them — at least from half of them. This was avoided by playing the County Inspector against the Ministry Inspector, so that a classroom was converted into a Woodwork room and our youngsters have ended with a better ration of Woodwork than in most schools in our area.

Then there was the case of Monica, the probationary teacher. Whenever she took a class there were more children out of the room than in it. The children stuck paper and rubbish into her bucket bag. If you told her to keep naughty children in, she would always disappear at 4 p.m., having forgiven the worst offenders and given lines to the harmless ones. You could tell where she was teaching by the noise. The H.M.I. who had to decide whether she should be accepted as a qualified teacher decided she was *not* too bad to license.

Finally I have learned what some L.E.A.'s think of H.M.I.'s and how they sometimes use their reports. A friend of mine recently gained a fresh appointment as a Head. When he had an interview with the local Education Officer, he was told: 'Your predecessor fell down on the job. There were unfavourable reports about the

school from the H.M.I.'s.' My grapevine reports that the previous head of that school had in fact fallen out with the Office over one or two matters. The Office had filled his staff vacancies with the worst rubbish findable. The result had been the bad H.M.I.'s report and his departure into the world of insurance collecting.

I 'noted' this information for future use. My English master with Head of Department Allowance left last term. Mine is a difficult school in a difficult area. Three quarters of my staff are people waiting to go to College, men who have come into teaching direct from industry to teach craft, those qualified by length of experience, and probationers of varying degrees of competence. Hence clearly one needs in a place like this someone capable of keeping order and strong for the Senior English job.

There were no applicants, so the problem was to fill the vacancy temporarily. The office suggested that they might send up a girl student waiting to go to college. I could visualize the

reaction of 3A and 3B to that. I suggested the temporary transfer of a strong man from a Junior School, where they do not have the same disciplinary troubles as we do. That could not be done. I suggested that the discipline of the school might suffer so badly that H.M.I.'s visiting the school might reasonably complain about things: 'We are not bothered about what they say. We will deal with them. We cannot produce rabbits out of a hat'. In other words the Office takes notice of H.M.I.'s when it suits them.

I have been sent a part-time young married woman, expecting a baby in a few months time. She has a degree in German and has never taught anywhere but in a Grammar School. 3A and 3B are having a grand time despite various things I have done to try to protect her. No H.M.I. has crossed the threshold so far this term, but all the same I am looking for another job — as an assistant!

Problems of School Consultation

Irene Caspari, Principal Psychologist, Department for Children and Parents, The Tavistock Clinic, London

THE TERM school consultation is, of course, an American one for what happens if some school problem is discussed with a professional person who is not a member of the school organization. This may be an inspector, a social worker or a tutor of a training college, and the subject matter discussed may relate to any aspect of school life.

In this paper I shall restrict myself to problems of children's adjustment in school and I shall refer to the outside agent as the psychologist, partly because he is the professional person most frequently consulted on these matters, and partly because my own experience is gathered in this role. However, I should like to make it clear from the start that the processes I am going to discuss have a wider application than those I am describing.

Before considering the problems of consultation I should like to look at some aspects of school adjustment. When a child enters school, certain demands are made on his behaviour by the educational arrangements themselves, and

the child is required to adjust to these demands.

Donald C. Klein, in his article on School Adjustment Problems that appeared in Stuart and Prugh's book *The Healthy Child*, quotes three main stresses to which the child will have to adjust in the school situation. These are:—

1. Separation from the mothering person;
2. Task orientations, i.e., having to tackle a task not of the child's own choosing;
3. Adjustment to the peer group.

The greatest demands on adjustment are, of course, made at the child's entry into school. However, when breakdowns in adjustment occur later, these are brought to the attention of the psychologist usually in terms of truancy, school phobia, inability to learn or behaviour difficulties in the classroom and in relation to other children. All these symptoms are linked to one or more of these three areas of stress within the school system. The underlying causes for the difficulties are generally found within the child and his family, but they make themselves seen in terms of breakdowns in ad-

justment to the demands of the educational arrangements.

This is probably partly due to one aspect of school adjustment which is less frequently made explicit. The child has not only to meet the demands of the school system as such, he has also to adjust to the person or persons within this system, i.e. the Head and the teachers of the school. It is, indeed, through the relationship with these persons that he is helped to make the adjustments required by the system. However, because this is a question of relationships, this adjustment is not a one-sided procedure only involving the child. It concerns the teacher as well, and the teacher has to adjust to the child too, an adjustment which increases in difficulty with the severity of the disturbance of the child. In this way the child is not only referred because *he* has problems, but also because his difficulties create a problem for the teacher in his management of the child and, probably, of the class. Indeed, children's problems in school are often accepted until, at some point, the teacher is no longer able to deal with them. It is at this juncture that school consultation demands the greatest skill in the consultant.

Generally, after referral, the child's problems are investigated and a diagnosis is made. At times the teacher finds the diagnosis useful, e.g. when it confirms his own observation of the child's low intelligence or when the child is so disturbed that he needs placement in another school. At times, however, the diagnosis as such offers little help to the teacher in his management of the child. For instance the knowledge of John's severe jealousy of his sister is generally of little assistance to him when he must deal with John who is viciously attacking a little girl. At such points the teacher becomes disappointed in the psychologist because the diagnosis seems to offer him little help, and the psychologist feels equally put off because the teacher rejects the information which was expected to enable him to handle the child more effectively.

This situation is often brought about because the involvement of the teacher is not clearly recognized, and I should like to refer to the techniques of Caplan's *Mental Health*

Consultations. He considers the teacher's involvement to be one of the main factors in school consultation. His techniques were worked out originally in Israel, in helping an organization for immigrant children with regard to their problems in handling children in residential schools.* In last year's publication *An Approach to Community Mental Health*, he extends these techniques to other professions, particularly to doctors and nurses and other professional workers in the community, all of whom he calls 'care-taking agents'.

I can give here only a brief outline of Caplan's ideas. His techniques are not unlike those used by social workers in casework. He found that a teacher complaining about the symptoms of his pupil was in a very similar position to a mother talking about the symptoms of her child. Just as the latter is also talking about the disturbance in mother-child relationship, so the teacher in complaining about his pupil is also describing disturbances in his relationship with the child. Similarly, just as the mother talking about her child can often be seen to refer to her own problems, the teacher's story of his pupil often has implications as regards his own difficulties.

Now just as social workers in casework find that, in discussing her child's difficulties, the mother becomes more able to deal with her own problems and subsequently more efficient in dealing with those of the child, the 'consultant' as Caplan calls him, discussing the difficulties of the child with a teacher in a similar way, finds that the teacher is able to deal more efficiently with the child in question.

This type of work necessitates, of course, opportunity for discussion, an uncritical understanding attitude in the consultant, and a positive relationship between the 'consultant' and the teacher. In his discussions the 'consultant' works on two levels. He is concerned with the problems of the child, but he is also sensitive to the under-the-surface implications in regard to the teacher's situation, though the

* He reported this work jointly with Jona Rosenfeld, a social worker, in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* in 1954, under the title *Techniques of Staff Consultation in an Immigrant Organization in Israel*. He continued this type of work at the Harvard School of Public Health in Boston, Massachusetts, and went into the technique in considerable detail in his booklet *Concepts of Mental Health and Consultation* (1959).

teacher's problems are generally not referred to as such.

Action taken by the teacher is not based merely on advice by the 'consultant'. The teacher himself finds his own remedy for the management of the child, and it is suggested that he will be able to do so the more readily if he has worked through some aspects of his own problems.

However, the more both are also aware of the implications of the teacher's involvement the more fruitful the discussions are likely to be. This means not only that the psychologist's skills and insights will be helpful but the teacher's awareness of his part in his relationship with the child is perhaps the most important factor, both for the discussion and for the help that the child will receive. And if in this situation the psychologist, with the skills he has learned, can help towards increasing the teacher's awareness, the teacher, in communicating *his* skills will equally help the psychologist in increasing his knowledge and understanding.

In this country this type of work is made somewhat more complicated for the psychologist, for a child is generally referred by the Head of a school, not by the class teacher. But the child's disturbance causes problems not only in the teacher but also in the Head, and the Head's problems may also be connected with the teacher's difficulties. Therefore, although the Tavistock Clinic's work with schools is closely linked to Caplan's ideas, I have found it impossible to find a case which would illustrate his techniques in a straightforward way. However, I think that the example below will illustrate many of the points raised in this paper.

The boy, Ronald, aged 8 years, became a severe problem in a Junior Mixed School with which the Clinic has very strong ties.

He had come from the Infant School at the beginning of the year. His teacher had found him a learning problem right from the beginning. Not only was he backward in his attainments, but he could not settle down to work, and whenever the teacher put on more pressure he would hurl himself at her or throw books around the classroom.

This problem was seen as a learning difficulty and was treated as such and Ronald was put

into a short-term remedial teaching group in reading. Since learning disabilities are frequent in this school, neither the Head nor the teacher was unduly worried about it. He was said to be doing more work and his behaviour difficulties decreased. He also made some improvement in reading. Towards the end of the year however, I received an S.O.S. from the headmistress. It had been discovered that Ronald had extracted money from a younger boy under threats of 'bashing him up', he had jabbed with a knife at a child who had informed the teacher about this, and he had been caught holding a little girl up by her hair in the playground. The teacher was unable to deal with the child and her whole class was out of control because of her difficulties with Ronald.

At this juncture I discussed the problem mainly with the Headmistress, as the teacher was leaving at the end of term and had taken to sending the child to her whenever he was troublesome.

However, the Head found this an impossible solution, partly because her time was taken up with end of term activities. She therefore decided to suspend Ronald for a time. In my discussions with her I dealt mainly with her difficulties about the teacher, and her feelings of guilt about the suspension. We also discussed how Ronald could be referred to the Clinic, — a difficult problem because he belongs to a problem family. At the end of the week the Headmistress suggested that Ronald could come back, but the Mother felt it was better for him to stay away for the rest of the term which was

BRAZIERS PARK

School of Integrative Social Research

IPSDEN, OXFORD

EASTER & SPRING WEEK-ENDS

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|-------------------|--|
| Apr. 19 | Easter Festival of the Arts |
| May 4 | The Reformation
Experimental Modelling |
| May 11 | Garfield-Howe Guitar Group
Introduction to Krishnamurti |
| May 18 | Singers & Pianists |
| May 18-
Jun. 4 | COMMUNITY LIVING RESEARCH
GROUP |

Send a card for detailed programmes

due to end in little more than a week's time.

As the result of the referral the headmistress was involved in many discussions about the child's problems, the aetiology of his disturbance, the conflicts within the family and the relevance of all this to the child's behaviour in school.

The child was found to be extremely disturbed and placement in a day school for maladjusted children was recommended. In fact the child was never placed. Although the parents had agreed to a change of school, the Father objected each time placement would have been possible, each time for different reasons. Thus Ronald is still at the school now, two years after the crisis.

In the meantime the Head has found ways to deal with his problems. She has made a very good relationship with him in which his aggressive feelings are recognized. This is well illustrated by a conversation she reported recently. Ronald had been very aggressive towards a younger child and the Head talked to him about the necessity for control; especially if one was the stronger person, and referred to the 'British' Police as an example of controlled strength. She reported with amusement that Ronald had told her, in a pensive way, that he

did not feel like a British policeman at present, he felt like a very nasty thief.

With the help of both the Head and Ronald's present teacher, his difficulties have diminished considerably and he has now begun to learn. A school for maladjusted children would probably not have achieved very much more.

I am aware of the possibility of arousing anxiety by pointing out that problems may be present in the teacher. I should like to stress that I am *not* implying that the teacher of a disturbed child is necessarily a disturbed person. What I am putting forward is that all people have problems in some areas and that these problems may decrease their efficiency in certain cases and at certain times. This applies not only to the 'care-taking agent', it applies equally well to the 'consultant'. His problems may handicap his ability to help the 'care-taking agent' in the same way. This phenomenon has long been recognized by those schools of psychotherapy which, like the Freudians and Jungians, demand a personal analysis as a prerequisite for training, and I should like to suggest that the more it can be accepted by professional workers in the field of human relations the more effective their work is likely to be.

A Community Centre in a small English Town

E. M. Fisher, B.A., Warden of Park Centre, Burgess Hill

PARK CENTRE has now been open for three years. Membership of its groups such as the Young Wives' and Bridge Clubs and the Thursday Lecture group have risen during the past year. The number of affiliated groups has remained at fifteen, because the available accommodation does not permit of its increase. Two groups which wished to affiliate had there been room on the nights they wished to meet have been able to find other accommodation. Two other groups are applying to affiliate and can just be accommodated. A Country and Square Dance Club started by individual members during the year is thriving.

The membership shows a fair balance of age groups. There are three specifically old people's groups and the members of these are excellent supporters of other Centre activities and have

supplied us with some very good voluntary helpers for the canteen and youth club.

The town has a large number of young married women who have recently moved here and who have small children. Afternoon classes with baby rooms manned by volunteers have catered for this group and they have been well patronised. The Young Wives' group and the Toymaking class also cater for them in the evening. Afternoon classes have a tea break, so they thus serve a social as well as an educational purpose.

Experiment has been made with some success in running classes with adults and teenagers working together. There are occasional clashes between age groups but these have been faced squarely and we hope that conflicting interests have been reconciled or at least that a basis for

greater tolerance has been laid. The Judo Club, the Theatre Club, the Country and Square Dance Club, and Choral Society, the Downlanders, have among others, been successful in working with adults and teenagers. The backstage work has been done by a youth team under the management of an adult. The Youth Club, to which most of the young people in Park Centre belong, has greatly increased in membership during the year under consideration and the scope of its activities has increased. Park Centre does cater for everyone from the cradle to the nonogenarian. *

Classes and clubs put considerable pressure on accommodation and no sooner has an activity ended than there are several claimants for the room which has been vacated. Table tennis has to be confined to rooms thus vacated at about 9.30 p.m. or to the week-ends or to the early evening before classes begin.

There were ten Christmas and New Year parties for children or adults or both held here during the period under review in addition to Park Centre New Year Party to which some 200 persons came.

There have been fifteen other socials, dances, dinners, or similar functions held during the year, by local churches, National Savings organisations, parent-teacher organisations, local factories, and others. Two political parties have regularly used the hall or rooms, as well as the police, the County Weights and Measures inspectors, tenants of the block of flats opposite, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the local Food Production Committee and a trade

union branch; the Urban District Council has used it as a polling station.

There have been only eight Saturday evenings and nine Sundays during the year, including the August closure and public holidays, when Park Centre has been closed.

The third Mid-Sussex Arts Festival, lasting ten days was held at Park Centre in 1961. The Summer Field Evening was instituted as a co-operative effort when all types of physical activity could be displayed in St. John's Park by Park Centre groups, affiliated groups, Oakmeads County Secondary School groups and other local club groups.

The regular figure for attendance at Park Centre per week varies between 650 and 800. The variation is not seasonal to any large extent and it is becoming more steadily maintained at the upper figure. When we have theatrical shows or large meetings the figure goes up to 1,000 or 1,250 per week.

Plans are now in being for proposed extensions to the accommodation at Park Centre. We urgently need additional rooms.

We have acquired from the East Sussex County Council:

1. the projector that was used by Stafford House till they had a new one. This has been very useful to Park Centre and to other Burgess Hill groups who have borrowed it.

2. additional lighting for the billiard room so that it can be used as a meeting or exhibition room. Also a hardboard cover for the billiard table.

* The week's programme is as follows:

Monday	2.30—4.30 p.m.	Handicrafts (Old Peoples' Hobbies Club — fortnightly; Mens' Section — weekly).	Thursday morning		Newick House School Keep Fit
	7.30 p.m.	Youth Drama	2.30—4.30 p.m.	Thursday Lecture Club (fortnightly)	
	7.30 p.m.	Burgess Hill Choral Society	5.00 p.m.	Puppet Club	
	8.00 p.m.	Snooker Coaching	7.00 p.m.	Burgess Hill Art Club (beginners' class)	
		Young Wives' Group (programme of lectures and social evenings)	7.30 p.m.	Youth Art	
		Burgess Hill Ladies' Whist Club	8.00 p.m.	Youth Club Vocal Group	
Tuesday	2.30—4.00 p.m.	Keep Fit to music for women (playroom for children)		Park Centre Old Time Dancing Club	
	7.30 p.m.	Judo	Friday	2.00—4.00 p.m.	Pottery (playroom for children)
		Chess Club		2.00 p.m.	Good Old Timers' Club W.V.S.
		Snooker Coaching		6.00—8.00 p.m.	School Jive Session
		Compton House Ladies' Choir		7.00 p.m.	Youth Drama
		Burgess Hill Townswomen's Guild.		7.30—9.30 p.m.	Toymaking
Wednesday	2.00—4.00 p.m.	Art (playroom for children)		7.30 p.m.	Judo
	2.30 p.m.	Poetry Society (monthly)		8.00 p.m.	Burgess Hill Park Centre Country and Square Dancing Club
	7.30 p.m.	Bridge Club	Saturday		Minor Football team Saturday matches
		Judo for women			Burgess Hill Ladies' Hockey Club — tea
		Jive Club	Sunday	7.45 p.m.	Mid-Sussex Film Society meets monthly
				8.00 p.m.	Poetry Society.

3. outside lighting for the side entrance to Park Centre.

4. a new hardboard flooring for the stage.

5. new gas radiators to heat the hall.

6. new floor covering for the ladies' cloak-room and the kitchen part of the canteen.

Generous friends have given us a grand piano, a large number of books and an extra set of stage scenery and several old sets of stage curtains and some carnival heads which were rather dilapidated, but which have been repaired.

Members themselves have paid for numerous consumable and other items from the Social Account.

I was asked to find someone to keep the Town Diary here, so that organizers by consulting it could avoid clashes. We are grateful for the continued notice of our varied activities given by the local press.

The Youth Club have taken part in county events such as the county Public Speaking contest, the County Athletics, and County Drama Festival and the Mid-Sussex Arts Festival Art and Drama Sections.

Youth classes have been run in piano playing, drama, art, and young people have joined classes alongside adults in Judo and toymaking. Coaching in snooker playing has been given regularly with good results. An Angling Club and a male voice choir or vocal group have just started, and a minor foot-ball team, but the trouble is the lack of a dry pitch. A group was taken abroad last summer, and I took a separate one abroad myself, not all from Park Centre.

The members' committee of the Youth Club has been the best yet. They have tried to improve the discipline of the club and to encourage purposeful activity and public spirited behaviour. They have had to suffer ridicule from the less purposeful would-be saboteurs in consequence of these efforts. This problem is perennial with young people and their committees and I think the experience has been educational as well as useful.

We could not have progressed without a very great deal of regular voluntary help, and many thanks are due to our resident stage manager for the year; to the friend who gave numerous film shows and loaned a great deal of stage

equipment; to the voluntary helpers who ran the afternoon baby rooms; and those who helped in the canteen; also to another friend who gave a great deal of voluntary help to Park Centre both musically and in other ways. Whenever we have asked for help for various other activities it has been forthcoming. Our thanks are also due to the Hon. Auditor for his hard work, to our own management committee, to various members of the local County Council, and other officials including the County Architect for visiting Park Centre and helping us in numerous ways.

The staff here are a small team but a loyal and good one. Anyone who has seen our secretarial assistant typing a stencil and minding a baby or two at the same time or our cleaner dealing with a caller will realise how everyone puts just that extra something into the work.

Some of the most interesting happenings during the year cannot be reported. They concern the personal problems of numerous persons of all ages who have come for help or advice. They also concern the growing tolerance between individuals and groups belonging to Park Centre which has developed through their being overcrowded together in one building and thus being forced to know one another whether they wished to or no.

The difficulties of running a centre that caters for the whole family from grandparents to new babies in a small building have also their advantages, people of all ages really meet. The young see that to engage in social, educational and creative pursuits and so to develop talent is an adult activity and not some plot to send them back to school. The adult listening to teenagers discussing concentration camps in the canteen or playing pop records realises that he or she too was young once and just as serious and just as gay.

Life is growth and so we plan to start new groups as we get room, time and demands to do so. But whatever we achieve we hope always to help members to understand themselves and other people and to offer friendship and support to those who are lonely or insecure; to enjoy the company of those who share their tastes or interests and to tolerate those whose interests and enthusiasms differ from their own.

Book Review

Intent Upon Reading - A Critical Appraisal of Modern Fiction for Children by Margery Fisher, Brockhampton Press 25s. 0d.

My first feeling after plunging into the pages of *Intent Upon Reading* was gratitude. It was time somebody took a long look at what has been going on in the children's book world. Reference books about children's books are good but few. I know no other which covers the years between 1930 and 1960. Enormous numbers of children's books pour into the market every year. Writers, parents, librarians, and teachers, at least these, must have been aware of the need for some such book as Margery Fisher's.

Anyone who feels that writing for children is important and needs to be dealt with seriously will be thankful that someone with so much knowledge, constantly refreshed over a great many years, has seen fit to undertake the task of writing 'a critical appraisal of modern fiction for children'. For myself, I should have valued more comments, more critical evaluation, more about development or change, even if there would then have been less space for summaries of books. Yet these very summaries, when they concerned books which I did not know, made me eager to read them; certainly in various ways they will prove useful.

Mrs. Fisher has examined books under a great many headings — fantasy, animal, humour, school, family, and so on — and each chapter is followed by a long reading list. Unfortunately, books which have been mentioned disapprovingly have been included as well as those recommended, so the lists, if they are not to mislead, must be used in conjunction with the text.

For those who are interested in writing, for those who want some measure, some principles by which to select stories for children, the best of *Intent Upon Reading* is in Mrs. Fisher's observations, which are scattered throughout the book. Greedily I should have liked more of them, and at more length. Here are a few, and they are better in their context:

'Simplicity does not mean short, blunt sentences, and it does not mean short, blunt words.' 'It is no use thinking of a young listener as infantile.' 'Inaccuracy, vulgarity, sentimentality — these are the three

dragons that haunt the path of the writer of animal stories.' 'Fantasy must be consistent. It must have its own limits.' 'It may be doubted whether children are ever well served by truly adult humour — that is, by humour deliberately keyed to adults.' 'It is one thing to recall to yourself the pleasures of playing pirates . . . quite another to reconstruct, honestly and without being arch or patronising, the special joy, to a four-year-old, of feeding a kitten or walking in the rain.'

If the hundreds of us who write for children examine and bear in mind such observations as these, perhaps there will be fewer 'phoney' books. There ought to be fewer; for children give us, while they are reading, their absolute attention. Such total absorption, such intensity of reading, should not be insulted by trivial stuff.

Mary Cockett

Letter to the Editor

2 Camp Hill Road,
3.III.62. Worcester.

Dear Editor,

Here is a note of what may look like spleen, but which is meant quite seriously and objectively, and which you might care to use in *The New Era*.

I often find that when I read an article on education I feel like chucking the journal at the wall and ceasing to have anything to do with teaching on the spot. And then I pick up some psychiatric writing, and come across the same thing, and realize there's no way out. May as well try to make one's particular corner liveable as look for better ones.

An article will be written with the best of intentions, and with all kindness and sympathy for the children concerned. Yet the writers will be taking for granted, by implication, that they themselves are a perfect example of mature adjustment, who can then afford to look into the souls of those in their care (without having the same thing done to them in reply) and to give, control and sympathize without any return. Now there is only one human being who has been able to do that, because he was, in the theological sense, impassible. All the writers are assuming is that they are God. Just a professional convention? No: the assumption harms both parties. It harms the children first of all, because anyone who thinks of

himself in this way must be a tyrant, however benevolent, and it harms the writer, because it cuts him off from the truth of the situation, which is that not only can an adult receive from a child and should allow himself to do so, but also that there isn't an adult alive who doesn't need such reciprocal giving.

The other assumption is related to this, but is not the same. It is found most often in writing on creative arts. The assumption made by implication by the writer is that, however valuable the activity under discussion is for the children, the writer has no need of it himself, or if he does indulge in it himself, it isn't for the satisfaction of any of those turbulent or desperate needs that are present in the children, but only in calm, all passion spent, etc. I am not at all sure that this one doesn't do even more harm than the first, in that the effects spread wider. After all, once out of school, the child can shrug the tyranny off. This one harms the children as they are by patronising them, and as they will be as adults, by suggesting that art-activity is only therapeutic, for children or for madmen, and is something that adults don't need. Any self-respecting child will then drop it the moment he leaves.

And this plays into the hands of the politicians, even if they be as sophisticated as Plato, for politicians quite rightly hold the Arts suspect as being subversive of the schemes of order they devise. The adult is harmed too. The fable here is of the Goose who laid Golden Eggs. The adult needs to participate actively in his art both from exactly the same emotional needs as the child, and also because, unless he remains alive in his art personally, he will in the end lose the ability to respond to the children's work. It is no good hoping to continue to bring off a response to poetic rhythms as they form themselves in a fourteen-year-old's work if you aren't yourself alive to the various tentative shoots of the latest avant-garde work that is being done in the country. And there is a third reason why this assumption that the adult no longer needs art is false. To borrow a metaphor, even the angels in heaven spend their time in continual song, and *they* can't be suspected of needing therapy.

I find these vices — or what I think of as vices — even more in progressive educational writers than in the conservatives.

Michael Shayer

THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

Free Writing by Spastic Children

E. G. Smith, Teacher in a School for Physically Handicapped Children

POETRY makes permanent and memorable the vital and significant from the mass of ordinary experiences. And so to enable children to write creatively we teach them to write not only prose but verse — rough, vigorous, lively — about anything and everything. Man is a feeling person and language is amongst the most universal means of expressing his feelings. Does it not follow then that the poverty of our verbal resources both in speech and writing is possibly a sign of deficiency in emotional vitality. Children can only write creatively what they feel and think at first hand in an atmosphere which is sympathetic, encouraging and positive, where acceptance is the tradition, and where the individual contribution is respected and delighted in.

Tempo varies for each individual and the teacher must check his critical attitude, particularly at the beginning. Then it is essential to accept the child's work as it is. The child *must* feel the joy of attainment, the capacity to create, to get the feel of what it is like to express and share his ideas. How easily are the child's first efforts shattered by an insensitive, impatient meddling, and the spark dimmed for good.

But must criticism be stifled completely? The painful lessons of self-criticism can start as a child listens to the teacher's telling of stories and poems; as well as by the judgment occasionally of his peers, and by the reading aloud of his own work. Harshness then can be tempered by the teacher's viewpoint. The atmosphere must be favourable to growth and development, where relationships are correct, where tensions are relaxed, where competition does not exist, where release comes as a result, and the imagination is free to write what it will

— poetry, stories, drama, hymns, prayers, radio programmes, and so on. One must however, provide stimulus and nourishment to feed this growth, using every available means — music, drama, movement, pictures, listening, touching and feeling. We must remember too, that poetry is already in the human heart, that one cannot teach it, can merely help to release it, that the blue pencil and marking will certainly not further it. This is not to say that there aren't occasional lessons of application and technique, but these must arise out of a need, so that they are seen as purposeful and so acceptable.

Finally, one golden rule, the teacher must be able to wait upon the moment to give the child a chance for sincere expression of thought and feeling. Patience and uncritical waiting are essential and eventually every child will write. From the teacher, wisdom, sympathy and understanding are called for: to know how to maintain a balance between the needs of his class as a whole, and the needs of the individual; to know when he is simply the provider of time and opportunities for the child to use some aspects of language as a means of expression, and when definite teaching relating to content, treatment, or technique will help.

Sixteen years ago, I began my first experiments with verse writing with a group of children; a large fourth year class of forty-six children, the 'B' stream of a two-streamed primary school. The intelligence ranged from dull to slightly above average. Nine of the children were from a nearby home or institution — all girls — most of whom were maladjusted, although in those days I hadn't the faintest notion of maladjustment nor of children's emotional problems. To me then they were just difficult with unhappy home backgrounds.

Most of them were orphans, many illegitimate and several had had very severe traumatic experiences. In recollection I feel sure that they gained some release and certainly much pleasure and satisfaction in their creations.

What triggered my effort? By chance I tuned in to a short recorded programme on the radio of a visit by an H.M.I. to a tiny rural school in the wilds of Ireland. The children were reading him some of their writings both prose and verse. I was amazed and wrote off at once congratulating the head and the children on their work and requesting details of his method. By return came his reply — a bundle of samples — but there was no method. He knew of no method. Enthusiastically describing the programme in the staff room, I announced my intention of embarking on similar work. All were sceptical; but the children did not let me down. The poetry was there; all it needed was release and the means of releasing it. From mid-April to July they filled two exercise books and that short period was to me a time of great joy and pleasure. I basked in their creation and hardly a day went by without some little offering being brought for my approval and delight.

Each teacher must decide his own particular approach, coloured by his own interests, enthusiasms, and personality. One must be a lover of poetry, so that one can naturally infect one's class with that same enthusiasm.

Nevertheless I would have been happy to have been given some guiding lines, for my efforts were interspersed with mistakes. But each succeeding year brought some new slant, insight or idea. Reading and enjoying poetry with children is still one of my great delights and the thrill of their efforts is often as fresh as ever.

Perhaps a few indications of starting points may not be amiss:—

1. single words: damn! fear! oh my!
2. single lines:
 - (a) I opened the door and . . .
 - (b) I'm glad I climbed the hill that day
 - (c) The wind shrieked through the crevice, the curtain moved and I tucked my head under the clothes.
 - (d) It was my first bicycle ride on my very own bicycle . . .

3. Whole poems e.g. *Silver* by Walter de la Mare
Snake by D. H. Lawrence
Nightmare by W. H. Auden.

Poem read and children asked to write what comes to their minds — poems of strong rhythm, movement or feeling.

4. Pictures, paintings, sculpture, e.g. Picasso, Gauguin, etc.
5. Music — records, e.g. Grieg, Holst, etc.
6. Sounds — Plop! Hiss, hiss, hiss! Rhythmic sounds, musical sounds, sounds made by pouring water.
7. Objects — eastern mask, a carving, native dress, a ring, a key.
8. Smells.
9. Feelings — objects seen, objects felt, objects felt but not seen.

In short, anything evocative, capturing an experience, a vivid moment.

Here is a 9 year old boy's effort after being shown a ring and asked to write what came into his mind:

'It was a wedding ring. I can just imagine the church bells ringing and the married couple just walking up the steps to the church. With black cars outside the church. And the bride in her white wedding frock. Red tulips in her hand. And the bride's husband all in black. Some graves dotted here and there. A fir tree on the side of the path. A crazy stone path. With weeds sticking through here and there. Daisies around the grave. Yew trees dotted about the graves'.

For the past five months I have been working with cerebral palsied children. It will be seen that despite their special difficulties they can respond, in certain fields, like normal children, if they are allowed to do so. The examples show that in the imaginative world this is so, although one must emphasize that in the realm of abstract reasoning, they show almost without exception, an astounding unevenness of pattern, finding at times extreme difficulty in following the simplest process, e.g. in number work.

Their experiences are much more restricted and limited, so that one has to counteract this by resorting to all manner of means to extend

their horizons. The outside must be brought in, even if only in many cases at second hand. For example whenever I visit a play, e.g. Billy Liar, Beckett, Joan of Arc (as I did during the Christmas holidays) I return with the programmes, and attempt to convey as vividly as possible the story and setting, and whenever I can reading extracts from the particular play, thus enriching a little their static lives.

It is interesting to note Two's description of walking through the mounds of autumn leaves, although she has not experienced this in actuality, only through the medium of her sensitive imagination.

General Class Atmosphere

An atmosphere geared completely to the child and his or her needs, where mutual respect is the order of the day, and where pressure in any direction is non-existent. There is tremendous freedom but no licence. Each knows that he is expected to do his best and give all he can. This knowledge is engendered mainly by example and the positive aspect of the work, and is understood by all. Each is free to express wishes, desires, thoughts, hopes and fears, knowing that all will be listened to; knowing that ridicule or reprisal will not follow. The individual's offer or contribution is accepted, but criticism does enter when it is felt that a piece of writing is below the individual's assessed and observed capacity. But at the same time, great care is taken to allow for 'off periods', for such are one of the most marked characteristics of the brain-damaged child — a very very marked unevenness of pattern; with times when he is unable to accomplish the simplest thing.

An attempt is made to widen their horizons in as many ways as possible through wireless, all types of periodicals even John O'London (Short Stories and competitions) New Statesman (Competitions when they fit in) Young Elizabethan, Manchester Guardian etc.

A great use is made of gramophone records. Plays seen are described. (This week they are being asked to put themselves within the skin of Billy Liar to write their vivid imaginings in the quietness of his living room when to himself he becomes other personalities, etc. etc. — this

of course after an account of the play.)

Outside visits — museum, quarry, farm.

Wall Newspaper etc. etc.

Debates and Discussions etc. etc.

These children have now reached the stage where they are able to see and to understand that each day provides, in its simple incidents and experiences, a rich store of material; that even the most trivial can be the germ of an interesting or exciting description or essay. Very rarely now do they need, or are given a title for they themselves decide or suggest what they wish to write about. Almost all the examples are ones they have suggested.

One of the big obstacles here is the constant comings and goings for mouth breathing exercises, speech, physiotherapy, and so on. This increases an already marked element of distractibility, which is another deep characteristic of these children. But on the other hand, they have great charm, courage and resiliency, and a wonderful sense of humour.

ONE — a boy

Bird Observaten

Jan. 28th

One night i got some bred and i put it on a log and hid beninde a three and i whoch the birds. I am not going to tell you about all the birds but ther was a few birds that i liked ver much and thay wher the robin the black bird and the sogn fruch. (song thrush). They all came togeder. But i put a big bit of bred on the log *and* when thay landet thay all began a tug of wuer (war) becus it seems like thay all liked it and wanted it.

But in the end no one had it becus a bigger bird came and took it.

THE END

The sping (Spring)

Feb. 8th

The sun is out.

And the sky is blue.

The flowers are out.

And the fall of dew.

The bird are singing.

And the babbys have hached.

The trees are green and the hededis (hedges) to (o).

All natcher (nature) is wayking (waking).

And all buds are braking.

My Dog

One day it was raining so hard
 That I could not go into my garden
 To play with my lovely dog.
 He was sad and down went his tail.
 And I was sad too.

[11.yrs. 11 mths. I.Q. 94 Columbia Mental Maturity Scale.

An athetoid C.P. with tension left side more involved than right side. Unco-ordinated flaying jerky movements of limbs and turning of head. Can walk with difficulty. Cannot write but can use modified typewriter (using pointer through a mark over the letters making for greater precision in choosing the particular letter, but still difficult.) Great speech difficulty, very difficult to understand.]

TWO — a girl

O'er the mountains, hills and vales
 I was walking one windy day.
 And the wind was blowing through my hair
 My mind went to the wonders there.
 The trees, the sky, the grass, the bird,
 All these wonders seen or heard.

My heart was full of gladness there
 And thanked Him for this world so fair.

In the Woods

One autumn day I went a-walking,
 I went a-walking in the woods
 Amongst the coloured leaves and faded flowers
 And the soft green springy turf.
 The sun was warm
 Shining like fire
 And as I was walking
 With the leaves carressing my feet
 My feet wading through them
 Crispy crunchy crackle beneath my feet.
 How different it was from the city street.
 It was like stepping into a dream.
 The pond rippled by the side of me,
 The water lily floated on its rippled surface.
 I felt a glory of gladness
 And I ever shall remember that wonderful day,
 When I went a-walking in the woods.

The Moonlight

It was a cold September night.
 The harvest moon was shining bright.
 You could see everything glimmering in the [light.
 The dark grey sky started to quiver.
 The rain was falling on my head,
 And the soft pattering could be heard on the [leaves.
 Cooling and washing
 After the warmth of the day.

And as I was standing there
 A crack broke the silence there.
 I looked up to the sky with tears in my eyes.
 Saw thunder and lightning visualized.
 Such a pity to see the silence broken.

The Unsolved Mystery

In senior I we yesterday discovered one of the calender numbers missing, No. 26. We searched the classroom. We asked the cleaners but nobody knew where it had gone. Next day however, the mystery deepened. The 26 had returned and the 27 had gone what was the explanation. Had gremlins returned and ghots. The mystery is still unsolved. We have even called in Five's * detective agency. We are hoping that he and company will get to the bottom of this. Or is it some follish prank?

(written for wall newspaper.)

The Angel

An angel came one cold dark night
 To shepherds on a lonely hill.
 Come and worship now he said
 In a manger all forlorn
 The babe just newly born.
 Come over the hill to Bethlehem
 Your future king to greet
 For he belongs to the lord on high.

He pointed to a distant star
 Journeying to a manger far.

* Five is a class member engaged on writing his own book of Mysteries from My Case Book, hence the reference to his detective agency).

His mother is the virgin Mary sweet and kind
His father is poor Joseph a carpenter you'll
[find.
So come now lowly shepherds
This happy Christmas day
Let us kneel and pray.

[12 yrs. 10 months. Matrices Gde IV— M.A. 7. Mee Hill Vocab. Grade II M.A. 11.
Spastic quadriplegie with greater involvements of legs than arms. Confined to wheel chair. Spatial difficulties. Strong imaginative sense (see poem on leaves.)]

THREE — a boy

A Poem

One day on a summer night
Everything was still
The trees were still
And I went walking
The birds were singing happily
And the cattle were grazing happily
And nothing was moving at all

Suddenly everything was all over the place
The birds were fluttering around
And the green grass was moving
The trees were moving
And the wind was blowing
Everything all over the place
And the wood was alive
The —? was full with joy
The mouse was running
Everybody was running over the place with joy
And suddenly everything stopped

BRAZIERS PARK

School of Integrative Social Research

SOME CURRENT WEEK-ENDS

- May 11 Introduction to Krishnamurti
Compose your own Song
- May 18 The Individual in the Community
Experimental Painting and Sketching
- May 25 The Two-some in the Community
Madrigal Singers and Pianists
- June 1 Community and Communication
Pottery

PROGRAMMES FROM THE WARDEN,
BRAZIERS, IPSDEN, OXFORD

The cattle looked up and started to run after
[each other
And the tigers were mewling around
And everything was running around frightened.
(Practically every word mis-spelt)

[11 yrs. 10 months. Very poor eyesight — uses one eye. Sight Deteriorating. Calipen. Hand deformed. Marked speech difficulties. Reading age 6 yrs..]

FOUR — a boy

Mr. S's. Story Feb. 9th 1962.

Once in Mr. S's. original school there were two boys of the same class. And one Easter holiday they wondered what to do. Then they decided that they would help the poor people. They did not tell anybody of there plan because they wanted it to be kept a secret. So the next day they went to the estate where a group of bungalows were built for the benifit of the old. Then they went from door to door doing what jobs they could for the old people and they pleased them very much. And one day Mr. S. received a letter and by the writing he saw that it had been written by sombody very old. 'What have those boys been up to?' he wondered as he read the letter. So he sent for them. And as they walked down the corridor with there heads hanging down they came to Mr. S's office. they knocked at the door and Mr. S. told them to come in and he showed them the letter and there faces brightened up at this and they told the whole story and in the end it turned out to be a happy end to a surpriseing Easter adventure.

(Above Four's version of a true incident told to him, but in the retelling it has become his own).

A cartoon

(Cartoon in Manchester Guardian — an important and well dressed individual striding out — a bee is buzzing near his nose and his head is held high so that he fails to notice an open manhole.)

Pride Goes Before a Fall (his own title)

The man who was on the picture must be very important. He must be an M.P. or a head manager of a big factory and he was going to work. Or in all probability he could be from the Ministry of Labour. He felt on top of the world but he was rather annoyed because a butterfly was buzzing around. Neither did he know that he was going down a manhole the way he was going rather proudly... (not completed).

An Incident

Mr. S's. Get Quick Rich Plan
(Child's own title)

One day in class everybody seemed to be breaking their pencils and every few seconds were sharpening their pencils and Mr. S. got rather annoyed and he said that for every broken pencil he would charge 1/0 out of their pocket money. He thought it a good way to get rich but I wouldn't think it a good way to get easy money.

A Maiden Fair

I saw a maiden on a hill
'You have a sweet voice', said I.
I'll marry you and you shall sing
Until the day I die'.

The Little Ships

The little ships is a poem written by Idris Davies who comes from Tonapandy. It was on a summers day during the second world war and everything was noisy. The Magniet Line was a famous French line which was barricade to the British Army. Over the border in Germany the Germans also had a famous line called the Segfred Line. One day the Germans went around the line and surprised the whole of the British Army. Now meanwhile in London the war office had received a message about the trouble so they sent a message to all the ports in the British Isles. So every ship in the British Isles went across the English Channel to the beaches in Northern France. There were 300,000 soldiers to be brought back to England.

(Written after the reading of the poem 'Dunkirk').

Christmas Bells

Christmas bells aringing
To bring this Christmas Day
Happiness to great and small.
This the bells do say.
Choirboys are singing
With a lightsome air,
Let us all be happy
And joy everywhere.

[11 yrs. 10 months. Matrices 73. Mee Hill Vocab. 116. Spastic quadriplegia with greater involvement of legs than arms. Can get around slowly and with great difficulty with two sticks. Fond of using words and quite a speaker, delighting in having an audience. Cast in the mould of a Welsh Preacher of bygone days.]

FIVE — a boy

Prison Break-out

It was all quiet in the prison. But in one of the cells a group of prisoners were planning an escape. One man had a pickaxe. But all of a sudden a guard appeared but before he could shout a sack was thrown over his head and he was knocked unconscious. Quickly they stripped his coat and escaped but when the guard came too he called a warning. The hunt was on, quickly prisoners hid in a hedge a mile from the prison. One of the prisoners shouted a warning. A group of guards was marching along. Suddenly one of the guards saw a hand and seized it. The game was up so back to prison they went with the prisoners.

T.V. and Radio Review

One of my favorite ITV programs is Corin-ation Street a day to day account of life in a northern town. I always watch it and enjoy it. Unluckily we have only B.B.C. at home but I watch it here. Another program I like is Dixon of Dock Green, an account of a policeman's day. It has got humor excitement and tragedy. It is on B.B.C. on Sats from 6.30 to 7.15. I like it very much indeed.

[14 yrs. 10 months. Subnormal abstract reasoning. Above average verbal ability. Very very disturbed emotionally and highly distractible. Real spatial difficulties.]

SIX — a boy

Class Gossip

In . . . school there is great concern about a character who when required is hiding in the woods.

This has been the most enterprising thing in . . . school.

Although Scouts have been sent to investigate he still disappears.

When anybody is sent to find him he is in a certain place. It is said that the unknown person has about seven hiding places.

It is now been said that the Police have been sent in to investigate.

[Based again on a true incident — incidentally the character is himself. He hates physiotherapy, and hides in order to evade.]

SEVEN — a boy

One day I was watching Andy Pandy and I was sitting in my green chair and all of a sudden I got my elbow stuck. And then my Father had to get the saw and he pushed and

pulled and in the end my dad got my elbow out. I was little when this happened but I can't remember how old I was. Then I did not enjoy getting my elbow stuck. My sister and I were little. I must have been about 3 or 4 years old. I don't know that I was doing something naughty at that time.

[12 yrs. Subnormal matrices. Little movement waist down. Confined to chair. Very severe spatial and perceptual difficulties.]

EIGHT — a girl

The Wonderful Night

Still was the night
Beautiful were the stars
Shining on the earth.
Shepherds were following one star
The brightest of all.
Shepherds were guided by it.
The angel spoke to Mary
You are having a son
He shall be called Jesus.

[Confined to chair. Little movement in lower limbs. Matrices score 60. Spatial difficulty.]

General Education in a Polytechnic *

Caroline Nicholson

TORRENTS of words have been uttered about education from *The Republic* to the *Two Cultures* and beyond. Surely we teachers are an articulate and opinionated lot.

But all I want to discuss here is what you do about general education in a technological age when you have a class representing all creeds and colours, varying in age from sixteen to thirty, united only in their lack of historical background and their intention to read A-level History in two and a half terms: this in a Polytechnic whose students are drawn largely from Afro-Asian countries. It seems to me that you can either help them to their immediate goal as painlessly as possible, or you can try to make

the scramble a generally educative experience.

At the beginning of the academic year my class and I face each other across a gulf of discrepancy — between my aims for them and theirs for themselves. My aims involve terms like 'discipline', 'responsibility of their position', 'needs of changing society', 'thinking independently', — it may sound high falutin' but I mean every word!

Their aims are to pass the exam, with as little effort as possible, and so qualify for a further (degree) exam, which will bring them greater prestige and probably more money. This is the

* This is a part of a paper given at a conference on General Education in the Technological Age held jointly by the Progressive League and the Council for the Promotion of General Education in October, 1961. Ed

broad picture; when invited to do so, the students break it down into a variety of personal purposes such as 'self-background for teacher training', 'not quite sure', 'to read any subject in any University', 'to win the University race', and even 'to avoid juju'. (This last came from one of the most able and sophisticated of my students who, while rejecting the threat of juju intellectually, recognized his emotional vulnerability. The threat came from his unschooled brothers, who believed quite wrongly that the literate son must be richer than they were. They were sponging on him to a point that had become intolerable, and he had had to choose between refusing their demands, and facing the traditional coercions, or getting away by seeking further education abroad. Being enterprising and intelligent, he is doing well at the London School of Economics.)

The limited goals which students declare at the outset create difficulties. From my point of view each new set of them is excessively examination minded, but not effectively so. For example, we do the Renaissance in a week. I try to reduce the horror of this with an extensive collection of picture postcards so that at least the word, say 'Botticelli', will evoke some kind of visual image (but there are traps for the unwary here. Botticelli's *Venus* strikes one not reared in European artistic values as hilariously funny — and it is, in a way.) Another thing I try to do is to illustrate the dramatic conflict between those who were driven to enquire and established authority in their day. The story of the discovery of the circulation of the blood does this usefully. But Mr. O. sat looking sceptical throughout the lecture, found the physiological diagrams on the board irrelevant, and came up afterwards, looking pitying, to say he'd never seen a question on the circulation of the blood in a history paper, so he hadn't bothered.

Hand in hand with the students' limited goal goes low incentive. They want typed potted notes to learn off by heart, 'one book that I can get it all from'. It is a very means-to-an-end attitude and their reliance on it is greatly reinforced and perpetuated by the second big stumbling block, inadequate general education. 'Broadly speaking, we have a system which has

nothing of the people. In fact we copied the western system of education and, of course, wrongly. This form of general education where a scholar cannot be fundamental and original is a sham... Added to this is the fact that as a growing nation we need many more educated people than we can provide. For this reason people are turned out just like that!'

This is a fair comment from a Nigerian member of my 1960/61 group.

Here is another from a Nigerian schoolmaster: 'Education is looked upon in my country to-day as a source of power... pupils mostly leave school ready-reckoners... those who can cram are *wrongly* assessed as educated... education should not create labour problems but should resolve them... gross pollution and decay of the vernacular... one of the causes of the difficulties we have later in 'pushful thinking' is that the children of 5 have not had command of the vernacular to direct their thoughts before the study of English is begun'.

Independent, critical work is thus a truly formidable task. One deep thinking Nigerian from a country district complained of feeling 'empty of substance' after my class, because he had nothing to show for it on paper — I would not dictate notes and he could not trust himself to take his own. Another member of the group, from Mauritius — he was the one who said his aim was to win the University race — was baffled by my attempt to illustrate causal relationships from sixteenth century Europe on the blackboard. I was trying to show the connections between an increase in the consumption of energy (water power and gunpowder) and a train of other happenings — wrought iron and steel, printing type and compass needles, ocean voyages, banks and colonial governments; but he asked 'When are you going to put some kings and queens on the board?'

Reliance on a brilliant facility to learn by heart is one complex facet of this picture. One student produced great chunks of Fisher's *History of Europe* which he had at some time got by heart, in response to any question. Rowse's *England of Elizabeth* with all those villages, proved too much even for him. But nothing I could say would woo him from his

dependence, nor even inspire a recognition of what he was doing. This is partly because there is a positive value attached to rote learning — I mean apart from its automatic, and in this sense unexacting, nature. It is a virtuous act; it is doing what authority requires; whether it's learning a text-book off by heart or, as head-man, repeating the oral tradition of the village. African oral tradition is demonstrably remarkably accurate* and, in default of written records, correspondingly valuable. It is therefore confusing and disturbing to be told that memorization is of little value, when there is a plethora of print, that what you must do is think for yourself, abstract, correlate. Confusing and, perhaps dangerous, too. Certainly it makes the person who tells you so the object of a serious conflict, and it is necessary to appreciate this and to allow for it.

I didn't at first. I took my class to the National Portrait Gallery so that they should see for themselves what Cranmer's portrait conveys, what Elizabeth's butterfly ruffs looked like. It was a great success, no question about it. I then set an essay so phrased that one could not write it, except by making use of first-hand observations of the portraits. One only, out of some twenty, had the temerity (and this is the word) to do this. Most quoted at length from a very dull and inaccurate second-hand account of Elizabethan dress which someone had got hold of and felt to be safe. The same lack of confidence in making direct observations is equally handicapping in using primary written sources, or newspaper cuttings and illustrations.

This is where I come to the central problem. If you feel you must take something away from somebody, you have to be prepared to give him something equally valuable as fast or faster. However ingenious or generous you are, there will always be some who feel you to be an enemy, a depriver, and who will project their insecurity in the form of attack and denigration; there will always be some who conform but are unconvinced; the majority, however, feel a gain.

Ade called his new intellectual independence, which he achieved in one term — the flexibility

and capacity of mankind can be impressive — his 'most precious possession'.

Another high moment was a visit to Hatfield House, and David's expression when he first saw the Cellini posset-set in the long gallery there. He had been revising the Philip II/Mary Tudor marriage treaty. The posset-set was one of Philip's presents to her. It is a most exquisite set of crystal, gold and enamel inlaid, and it is artfully and suddenly revealed when the guide, enjoying the moment every time, slides back the panel of the lighted niche. David was greatly excited and moved, he pushed forward, hardly believing yet already experiencing the reality of the fusion of past and present. 'It is it, it is it!' he said, like a discoverer. Less dramatic but as important was George's description of the visit to Hatfield as the happiest day of his life: he was gratified to have seen with his own eyes (we went by British Railways) what a 'bridge over' actually was. It had been until that moment merely a name and an ordnance survey symbol. Again, the symbol became actual.

Others, in writing, unsolicited but welcome, offered suggestions. Willis wanted time made for discussion; 'I know this would be difficult, I personally would have needed a great deal of encouragement to say out my ideas aloud for fear of being ridiculed, and even punished in the past *when a wrong thought was given*'. From Pakistan, Bubu, a motor-mechanic, defined General Education as 'That which brings a person into contact with the mass of human endeavours at all levels. Making him aware of the nature of the laws and forces that converge on him, and diverge from him... developing in him the ability of *not becoming what he does in life*,' (my italics) 'to make him aware of the need of exploring the world outside, and the one inside.' This young man was a natural poet and philosopher. During his first term he was all but overlooked because his efforts to express his thoughts in the English then available to him were bizarre, requiring much time and sympathy to read them.

My contention is that if we are to practise this kind of education, to attempt it even, what is needed is more time. Unless something radical is done soon to create the conditions in which

* B. Davidson — *The Tents of Kedar, History Today*, October, 1957.]

those who want to can afford — emotionally and financially — to invest the effort and time required, then all the theory that has ever been written is a waste of print.

I do not accept that teaching in the round necessarily requires exceptional teachers. I do not accept that the multiplication of 'social' subjects grafted on to already crowded programmes, and made 'important' by attaching examination papers to them, is the only 'practical' solution. There are plenty of people in teaching, and plenty of potential teachers, able and eager to teach whatever it is —

Theoretical Physics or English Literature — in such a way as to inform the whole of life. What is lacking is not conviction or imagination, but the circumstances in which these qualities flourish and beget themselves.

George, the Nigerian schoolmaster, wrote: 'I discovered, day by day, as a teacher, that the confines of knowledge are unlimited. Therefore I drew the inspiration that I must one day leave my country and my family, even with a skeleton means of sustenance, for the United Kingdom — the land of knowledges.' I hope we do not let him down.

Social Studies in a Training College

Margaret Hardiman, Battersea Training College of Domestic Science

THERE is an increasing acceptance of the view that a teacher must be deeply committed to the study of social change. Unless he can achieve a sufficient flexibility of outlook he will progressively become more out of touch, and consequently more impatient, with the world in which he is preparing his pupils to live. If he can understand the problems which a society in transition is facing, he can not only be more sympathetic to the difficulties of individuals, but also make the fullest possible use of conflict for creative purposes, in the ways suggested in the January number of *The New Era*.

Training Colleges are paying increasing attention to the contribution which a study of society can make to the intending teacher. As there is need for a great deal of thought and experiment in this field, it may be useful to consider what is already being done in a College where this subject has been included in the curriculum for many years. I myself only joined the Staff in September 1959, and had not previously worked in a Training College. Consequently my own thoughts on this question are under constant review in the light of experience.

Battersea Training College of Domestic Science is a specialist College, and the course already lasted for three years before the new regulations came into force. Our students take

the Teacher's Certificate of the University of London Institute of Education, and they all during their training do some teaching practice in general subjects in Secondary Schools, in addition to their domestic science teaching. The course itself is more broadly based and contains a greater academic content than is often supposed. There is, for example, considerable emphasis on Applied Science, and there are curriculum courses in English and Social Studies. Students also select an optional subject, which they study during their second and third years in College, and one of these is Social Studies. The object of these options is to further the student's personal development, rather than to provide an additional teaching subject. Selected students now have the opportunity to follow an Advanced Course, such as *'The Family in the Community'*. This has only started in the present academic year, so it is still in the experimental stage.

I propose, in this article, to concentrate on the curriculum course in Social Studies which all students take throughout their three years in College. The time given to it is limited, as our timetable, with so many practical classes involved, is unusually heavy. During their first year, three hours are allotted for Social Studies every other week. In their second and third years they have, on average, one hour a week for lectures and discussions.

What then are our objectives? Firstly, we give students an opportunity to consider the social background of the children they will teach; how our society has acquired its present structure, and what problems face it to-day. A teacher of domestic subjects is particularly involved with social habits in her day-to-day work in the school. She cannot ignore changing family patterns, housing problems, the earlier age of marriage, the increasing number of married women in paid employment, or the impact of technological development on the home. All these factors, and many more, are constantly brought to her attention in the classroom, in her work itself she will find many opportunities for fruitful discussion of family and community life with her pupils.

Moreover, because once she starts teaching she will have smaller numbers in her classes and much of her work will be done through helping individuals with their practical difficulties, she will have special opportunities to get to know her pupils. This leads to a second, though related, purpose of the course; that students should acquire a good working knowledge of the social services, particularly those related to children. They should, for example, understand the work, not only of the Local Education Authorities, but also of the Children's Department, the Probation Service, the Citizens' Advice Bureaux and the voluntary organizations.

Because of all this, we consider that the course has two aspects; one the acquisition of a certain body of knowledge; the other, the development of an outlook, which we hope will include an enquiring mind. This second aspect is to us of the greatest importance. If the student has a real interest in the world in which she lives, and learns to look at it critically, then she will continue to seek further knowledge and to learn by her experience. She will regard her task as an adventure with unlimited possibilities. If we are to foster this attitude then the course must be planned to stimulate the student to acquire and digest knowledge for herself, rather than to present her with a tidy compendium of facts, or even ideas. How to achieve this within the time at our disposal is a real problem. It is essential that students should not only read

widely, but that they should go out to see things for themselves, and meet a wide range of people in different walks of life.

Examination requirements to-day lead to great pressure in the sixth forms at schools. In many cases, little initiative is left to the individual, particularly the less able, to plan her work for herself; still less is there time to follow through a subject in depth for its own interest, without reference to examination requirements. We therefore plan the first year's work with the object of getting the student to use her own initiative and to train her powers of observation of her surroundings. After a short introductory talk, and a preliminary briefing, we send students out on a short survey of selected parts of Battersea. They are divided into groups of four or five students, and each group covers an area roughly equivalent to a ward. They are asked to observe and find out about housing conditions; street lay-out; shopping facilities, employment, opportunities and the siting of factories, workshops and offices; open spaces; public services; and to make observations, where possible, on the inhabitants. Accurate records are kept of the sources of information used; personal impressions are encouraged, but they must be recorded as such. Subsequently each group reports orally on its findings, and this is followed by questions and discussion. Most of our students come from the provinces, and even those living in and around London may not be familiar with areas like Battersea. They are immediately struck by the problems of housing and town planning in a heavily built-up area; many are shocked by the apparent lack of progress since the war in developing bombed sites and in demolishing houses that are not up to present-day standards. This is one example of how a survey of this type can serve as a foundation for the study of a social problem. The students have 'discovered' the problem for themselves, and in finding out more about it, they can refer back to instances that they have themselves seen. The scope of their observations may be limited from a sociological point of view, yet it can awaken interest, and also provide some training in the sociological approach.

This brief survey is followed by a visit to the

Town Hall, where the chief officials of Battersea Metropolitan Borough Council generously give up a morning in order to talk to the students. There is ample opportunity for questions, and the value of the session is increased by the fact that students already have some knowledge of the area. For example, if at the Town Hall we follow through the housing problems already mentioned, we hear the views of the Borough Engineer, the Medical Officer of Health and the Housing Manager. We realize the complexity of the problem, particularly where slum clearance is involved, and begin to appreciate the human aspects of rehousing. We learn that Battersea has a higher than average proportion of old people, and that their housing presents special problems.

Out of this first term's work many lines of study suggest themselves to the students, and they are asked to select topics for individual or group study during their second and third terms. Some may want to pursue the question of housing further, others, to study the welfare of old people or the teenage group; some, to consider children with special problems, either physical or mental handicap, family deprivation or delinquency. A wide range of choice is allowed, and students as far as possible arrange their own visits. They meet a lecturer for tutorials to plan their work and to discuss its progress from time to time; eventually a written report is made, and towards the end of the summer term individuals or groups present their study to the rest of the year, in exhibition form, some in a short talk, and some bringing in an outside speaker connected with their subject.

I have outlined the first year's course in some detail, because it is here that the atmosphere is set for our subsequent work. As we only

have one hour a week for lectures and discussions during the second and third years, it is not possible for students to go on visits, unless they do so in their free time. We use the varied experiences of students, gained by their individual studies, for our later discussions.

For those students who elect to take Social Studies as their option, a more detailed study is possible of the development of our present social structure, with particular reference to the growth of the Welfare State. An important part of the course is a special exercise, completed by each student on a subject of her own choosing. As much use as possible is made of sociological material, such as the surveys carried out by the Institute of Community Studies.

The Advanced Course in *The Family in the Community* is still in its early stages, but we are at present experimenting with the use of anthropological material in order to demonstrate differences in family patterns. Each student has made a detailed study of one monograph, such as Audrey Richards' *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*. We are also studying the family in Britain from the historical point of view, and to a limited extent family patterns in China, Russia, Sweden, Israel and France. Again, each student will undertake an individual study which it is hoped will involve some personal investigation; one topic already chosen is 'Growing Up in Crawley New Town'; the student concerned lives there and hopes to collect material during vacations.

There is nothing particularly revolutionary in our work, and much is being done on similar lines elsewhere. We are constantly reviewing our own courses in the light of experience and students' needs, and we particularly welcome discussion with others concerned in similar projects to our own.

News and Notes

U.S. Section

Winds of Change in Africa: Concepts and Dynamics was the theme of the 9th Annual Conference on International Education held at Queens College in New York

on March 24th 1962. The conference, the second with focus on Africa, was attended by 1000 persons.

Sponsors of the program were the Metro-

politan Committee on International Education of the New York Chapter of the New Education Fellowship. Co-operating institutions were Adelphi College, the Division of Teacher Education of the City University of New York (including Hunter, Queens, City and Brooklyn colleges), the School of Education of New York University, Hofstra College, Teachers College, Columbia University, and the Southern New York State Division of the American Association for the United Nations.

The conference, planned particularly for elementary and secondary school teachers, college and university instructors and for students preparing to be teachers, was open to the public.

The program opened with a showing of films on Africa in the auditorium of Colden Center in which the proceedings of the one-day conference were held.

The keynote address was given by Jonathan B. Bingham, Minister, U.S. Representative on the Trusteeship Council of the U.N. He spoke on *The U.S., the U.N. and Africa*. Mr. Bingham was introduced by Hugh H. Smythe, Adviser on Economic and Social Affairs of the U.S. Mission to the U.N. Dr. Smythe assisted the chairman in arranging the program.

Twenty Africans from the U.N. and local universities gave technical assistance to the U.S. to help teachers bring themselves up to date on changes in Africa, according to a report of the conference in the *New York Times* the next day. The African speakers, assisting in the seventeen panel discussions held during the morning and afternoon, came from Nigeria, Malagasy, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Angola, Rhodesia and Liberia.

American panelists, authorities on Africa, were drawn from the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Institutes of Mental Health, American Metal Climax, Inc., Intervest, the American Committee on Africa, the African-American Institute, the U.N., the U.S. Mission to the U.N., UNESCO, the U.S. State Department, the Peace Corps, *Life Magazine*, the Museum of Natural History and universities in four states.

Topics discussed in hour and a half long sessions included: Changing African Concepts

of Democracy; Economics: Resources and Developments; Changing Social Values and Urbanization; Changing Role of the Tribe; Changing African Personality; Secondary Education; Cultural Expressions: Music and Dance; Population Improvement: Food, Disease Control; Creating National Consciousness; Higher Education; Financing Economic Development; Changing Role of Women; Special Education: Mass Literacy and Fundamental Education; Majority-Minority Peoples: Changing Roles; Americans Teaching in Africa: Opportunities and Implications; Science and the New Nations; Cultural Expressions: Art and Drama.

Discussants in all groups approached their topics with three questions:

1. What have been, in the past, the concepts or patterns of thought of the people in the particular aspect of African life under consideration?
2. What forces now out of equilibrium are bringing about changes?
3. What changes are taking place in African life and society as a result?

Performing in front of the U.N. flags on the great platform in the auditorium, Batatunde Olatunji provided the cultural highlight of the day when he and his company of 15 dancers, singers and drummers entertained for over an hour in the final session of the conference, and through their music gave their message of Africa to the audience. Olatunji, born in Nigeria, attended the Baptist Academy in Lagos, the capital city. Today, Olatunji is the leading exponent of authentic African music in this country. He has performed on Columbia Records and in lecture halls, concerts and at major jazz festivals. By choice a student, he is presently a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in public administration at New York University.

No financial support is provided for sponsoring these annual conferences on international education. Each year, however, excellent conferences have been made possible because generous persons have been willing to contribute their time and talents in order to help teachers better understand some critical area of the world. They receive no fees for their services nor money to pay transportation expenses. This year there were more than 65 individuals making this contribution as speakers

and panelists.

The Conference Planning Committee each year consists of those New Education Fellowship members who volunteer to carry through the conference. This year there were 17 volunteers. Individuals took responsibility for registration, for printing the 10,000 flyers and programs, for mailing these well in advance of the conference to every school and college in New York City, Long Island, to many schools and colleges in neighboring states and to Africa-oriented organizations and institutions.

Curriculum and other materials and books on Africa were made available by the U.S. Committee for the U.N. Publications Center, UNESCO Publications, the African-American Institute, the American Committee on Africa, the Foreign Policy Association and others.

Displays of photographs of Africans and of African art objects were prepared by the local arrangements committee from Queens College. More than twenty volunteers arranged the exhibits, provided guides and other services contributing to the value of the conference and to the convenience of those attending. A hot luncheon was served in the new dining room of the College at noon. N.E.F. members served as hosts and hostesses in the discussion groups.

The United States Information Agency was particularly interested in this conference which featured Africans explaining to Americans the dynamics of change taking place in African people in various aspects of their society. On hand were photographers and reporters from U.S.I.A. The keynote address and all discussion sessions, recorded by the conference were made available to them. They will broadcast the keynote address and portions of the discussions to the people of Africa over the Voice of America. Some of the speeches will be translated by U.S.I.A., and some will be offered to African stations for translation into their various languages for broadcast over their own stations.

The place of the New Education Fellowship in sponsoring the conference was recorded by the U.S.I.A. and will be carried with the programs to Africa.

A volunteer N.E.F. committee, responsible for taping all the sessions, is in process of making a printed summary of the conference available.

E. Alice Beard, Conference Chairman,
Secretary-treasurer, New Education
Fellowship, New York Chapter.

Lecturer in Education, Hunter College.

28th March, 1962.

Book Review

Why so Angry? *Richard Acland - Gollancz 16s.0d.*

It may be hoped that the horizon of many *New Era* readers has already been enlarged by encounter with this important work, addressed by Sir Richard Acland to students who, disillusioned and frustrated, turn away from the social challenge because they are left without an answer either to 'Why try?' or 'Try to do what?'. Those, orthodox believers or agnostics, right or left wing in politics, to whom this searching diagnosis of our time has not yet spoken, may well be urged to confront it and to weigh its challenge, in dialogue with those for whom they exercise responsibility. To the potential reader of this uncluttered-by-cliché study, additional commendation may well derive from my mentioning the indebtedness Acland expresses to the authors of 'The Protestant Era', 'God and the

Unconscious', 'The Drama of Atheist Humanism', 'The Clue to History', 'A Study of History', and 'Christianity and History'.

The introduction reminds us that no one wrestles with the problem of life in a social vacuum. Therefore, to live an integrated life is to relate it to the particular stream of history in which one lives thus making terms with that stream. Within this context we are given the following broad statement of the author's general conclusion:— 'In short, a man may relate himself better to the 1960s if he first sees how the 1960s fit into a pattern displayed in some such time-bracket as AD 1450–2350. In this way he may find a surer foundation on which to build a constructive personal life and a calmer surface beneath which to search for life's real meaning.'

The review given of the periods 1890–1910 and 1920–1935 — the latter an endearing personal con-

fession — leads to the conclusion that whereas in the former, students thought their ancestors had just solved all the basic problems of man, those of the latter believed these would soon be definitely solved if only the old reactionaries could be replaced by the students themselves. The last twenty-five years have, of course, shown such mentors to have left us well nigh bankrupt.

There follows a well founded statement of reasons for concluding that there are now four chances out of five that white western civilization is heading for self-destruction. The question presented is why we, as did St. Augustine in an earlier and equally perilous time, should not constructively live through our situation. The author affirms that the danger of the disintegration of our society arises not from its evil but from the curious ways in which its great but partial values (such as individualism) have emerged among

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us. The entrepreneurs of 1800—1850, for instance, were taught that it is quite all right for each man to aim at maximum material reward through minimum material effort — and now great bodies of trade unionists are applying the same philosophy to their working lives; — the same philosophy is indeed subjected to this reproach by a Cambridge tutor 'Too many people have come to this place to get the paper certificate which leads to the career which carries the money to run the car.'

How well we are given the perspective within which to receive the following from *The Protestant Era* by Tillich:—

'Religion has consecrated the feudal order and its own participation within it without transcending it. Religion has consecrated nationalism without transforming it. Religion has consecrated democracy without judging it. Religion has consecrated war and the arms of war without using its spiritual arms against war. Religion has consecrated peace and the security of peace without judging it. Religion has consecrated its own spiritual threat. Religion has consecrated the bourgeois ideal of the family and property without judging it and has consecrated the systems of exploitation of men by men without transcending them; on the contrary it has used them for its own benefit. The first word, therefore, to be spoken by religion to the people of our time must be a word spoken against religion.'

The veil thus torn from the actual, dominating, as contrasted with the professed, religion of our dying society, we have exposed to us a society whose essence is its secularism. Dominant therein are nationalism, strongly parochial patriotism — often carried to the length of xenophobia — dying imperialism and almost idolatrous worship of the Royal Family. A society at once abstractly intellectualist and pragmatically materialist, its individualism, potentially the best thing about it, has led to a whole tangle of dangerous subsidiary attitudes and has been so twisted as to give a strongly anti-social bias to contemporary feeling about social problems. Moreover, rationalist humanism — not without its own anti-wishful unthinking — far from being a vigorous new challenge to a dying faith, is no more than a credal formalisation of the very 'religion' that makes us what we are.

Can there be any comment on all

this as telling as the verve with which, in contemporary idiom, Acland gives us Matthew IX vv. 10—11:—

'And it so happened that while Jesus was having dinner in the house, a whole gang of tarts, teddy boys and customs officers swarmed in and sat down with him. A group of local magistrates, seeing it, asked his followers, 'why does he mix with all this riff-raff?' The author claims that, *with his life* Jesus was insisting:—

'Do not sin; but do not pretend your drives and impulses to all kinds of evil do not exist; do not push them down as outcasts. Sit down at meat with them! Recognise them. Accept the fact that they are part of you. And above all do not imagine that you are, or ought to be, beyond reproach.'

We are reminded of the gulf between all this and the kind of churchmanship that showed no sign of being shocked when the then leader of the Church of England toured South Africa and gave his encouragement and approval to those who least deserved it, by the astonishing statement that men are equal in the love of God but not necessarily equal in the sight of God.

Acland's positive is the Rediscovery of Mystery — a revelation of the certainty, known to almost all in rare moments of clear perception, that the purpose of man is so to dispose himself as to be used in the quest for truth and in the service of love and sympathy and fellowship. 'It can separate the calm from the distracted, the purposeful from the peevish, the peace makers from the bloody-minded, the confident from the anxious and the defeated. In a word, it can separate those who can, even now, be really happy from those who can't.'

Against all authoritarians — Roman Catholic, Fundamentalist or Communist — his corollaries to the Rediscovery of Mystery are the legitimacy and immense creativity of consciously held doubt, and the fact that a man must be alertly open-minded to the possibility that he may at any time meet in personal encounter the mysterious Living Authority at the heart of the universe. Thus, though he roundly declares his belief that Jesus Christ will always hold a crucial place in man's religion, he also considers that our immediate tasks require equal co-operation between those who can and others who cannot now claim to be believers.

An examination of the contact

between religion and psychology leads to the conclusion that we are moving out of the destructive stage of a profound religious reformation. It can now indeed be seen that most of the anti-Christian writers of the last 150 years have been doing God's work by tearing away the childish religiosity we had assumed and have outgrown. Each man, by living his own life to maximum spiritual purpose, links himself to this reformation *which is bound to succeed no matter what happens.*

And the implication of all this in our personal and social life? In private life it is 'being good', seen as the personal foundation from which the constructive rebel works for the rediscovery of the Mystery, to overthrow the dominant religion of the 'Establishment'. In relation to social problems, to love the community. The individualists say: 'We can't love this great complex thing'. But this 'thing' is simply the name for 'all other people', and if we treat the 'Thou' as if it were an 'It', the Eichmann attitude lies at the end of the road! By what devil's trick are we persuaded to admire ourselves whilst hating everyone else? The majority of influential people 'are indifferent to the community and some even hate

it'. Acland traces this widespread attitude to its origin in the average middle class nursery of 1895-1914.

The final chapter, a personal post-script, offers reasons for believing that if the attitude of large numbers were transformed the consequence would be a change in the direction of socialism *such as seems hardly to be known by Labour spokesmen.* As to the anti-socialists: 'In economic fact the decisive task of sustaining and improving our major industrial equipment is already being carried out in the socialist way - that is to say it is being financed, quite properly, by us all collectively through the relationship between the prices and wages we pay and receive. The anti-socialists are therefore wrong in thinking that they are resisting some crazy revolutionary plan dreamed up in a few distorted minds. They are struggling to postpone the formal legalisation of a revolution that has already happened in economic fact. In a sense nothing remains except to change the law so as to bring it into line with existing practice.'

Equal evidence of Acland's realism is manifest in his selection of the following from Jung's 'Essays on Contemporary Events':-

'No person of insight will deny

that the organization of our society, which is called the State, not only feels a strong urge to extend its authority, but is compelled by circumstances to do so. If this takes place by free consent and because the citizens of the State consciously realise what they are doing, *then the results will be nothing but good.* If on the other hand it takes place because people find it more comfortable to evade difficult decisions or because of lack of consciousness, then the individual is exposed to the certain danger of ceasing to exist as a responsible human being.'

Some of us, handling such life and death themes, would have placed the relative emphases differently from the author. Nevertheless, if I have suggested that this, in its entirety, is truly tonic writing, demanding real attention, I shall have achieved what *Why so Angry* merits so abundantly. *Alfred Cannon*

Common Sense about Young Offenders, - W. David Wills, - Gallancz 6s.0d. paper back, 12s.6d. Cloth Boards.

A review of this book by Mr. Arthur T. Barron has had to be held over till the June issue owing to lack of space. *Ed.*

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THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

Setting Sights to Higher Horizons

Virginia Rowley and Seymour Itzkoff, Hunter College, New York City

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL tenets of the democratic faith as it has evolved in the twentieth century is the belief in equal educational opportunity for all, so that the potential of each individual can be developed to the fullest extent possible. Accompanying this ideal is the realization that political democracy in itself is a hollow achievement if it is not accompanied by economic and social democracy. Human resources are the basic wealth of any nation. From a moral as well as a realistic point of view, a country must seek to discover and perfect the latent talent of all its people, cutting through artificial barriers that may result from social, racial, religious and national prejudices.

Approximately 400,000 talented United States youngsters from the lowest step of the social ladder leave school or college each year. Many of these boys and girls not only lack the means to go to college but also do not aspire to go. The key to this waste is of course the cancerous atmosphere generated in urban and rural slums, America's underdeveloped lands. These 'culturally deprived' — Negroes, Puerto Ricans, poor whites — are rarely made aware of their intrinsic worth as human beings with latent intelligence and unexploited talent.

It is estimated that 'culturally disadvantaged' families produce only one talented child for every 235 from 'culturally advantaged families'. In affluent suburbs, 25 per cent. of all youngsters score 125 or above on I.Q. tests. In poor neighbourhoods, only 6 per cent. do so. Lacking the environmental stimulation of books, conversation and even material gadgets, the bright slum child seems to get duller as he grows older. Too frequently, schools and society treat him accordingly. With a dwindling sense of worth he accepts the verdict and quits school. The

high drop-out rate of 50 per cent. or more in some of the blighted areas of our cities therefore comes as no surprise. The whole situation adds up to what James B. Conant in his *Slums and Suburbs** terms 'social dynamite' and demonstrates that democratic ideals by themselves are insufficient. They must be made operative by meaningful and positive social action. In this respect, one of the most substantial attempts to achieve real equality of opportunity is The Higher Horizons Program in New York City.

The Higher Horizons Program grew out of the success of the Demonstration Guidance Project at Junior High School 43 and George Washington High School, both in Manhattan. Initially, the Demonstration Guidance Project was designed to identify, stimulate, and guide into college channels able students from a low socio-economic background. When the project began at Junior High School 43 in 1956, only 4 per cent. of the school's population ever went on to higher education. According to Dan Schreiber, then principal of '43', now on temporary assignment as head of the Higher Horizons program for the New York City system: 'Our assumption was that no community was so bad that it didn't have a better proportion of able kids than that.'

At the initiation of the project, '43' had all the problems of a school in a deprived neighborhood. The average I.Q. of the students was 82. A large percentage of the parents was on relief and almost all students qualified for the free lunch program. Truancy and pupil turnover were high and living conditions undesirable, with most children coming from crowded, substandard tenements. The student body was 48 per cent. Negro, 38 per cent.

* See review on p. 123.

Puerto Rican, 11 per cent. white, and 3 per cent. others. The school building itself was gray, barren and fortress-like, dating from the turn of the century. Against such a background, it is not surprising that three-fifths of '43's' students failed to graduate from high school.

Initially, not every child in the school was selected for the Demonstration Guidance Project. A series of special tests was given — achievement tests in mathematical computation and reasoning, vocabulary and reading comprehension, and general information and understanding, together with verbal and non-verbal I.Q. tests. Rather than averaging mathematical and verbal scores, component scores were examined and any child registering average or above in 6 of 10 criteria, among which were class grades and teacher recommendation, was accepted for the project. With the objective of giving everyone a chance who could possibly succeed, approximately half of the school qualified and half of those who did qualify eventually showed strong improvement.

The key approach in the program was to encourage the pupils to develop a positive self-image. They were challenged to achieve and were shown that they could achieve. With the guidance program as the cornerstone of the project, the professional guidance staff was enlarged to a dozen people and assigned a special room. Here they held both staff and student conferences, and displayed instructional material such as pictures of successful professional Negroes and Puerto Ricans at work, and utilized pamphlets on various vocational opportunities.

In addition, classes were kept small, since 100 teachers were provided for 1650 pupils. These teachers were given intensive, on-the-job orientation to the objectives and methods of the program. Concomitantly, through changes in the curriculum, greater stress was put on academic courses and by 1961 approximately one-half of the students were taking algebra as well as a foreign language in the ninth year. Remedial teaching, especially in reading and mathematics, was also an integral part of the program, as was parent education.

To broaden the experiential background of the children, a key aspect of the program, they

were taken on trips to the opera, concerts and Broadway shows where later they met the casts and musicians. Visits were paid to numerous colleges, including Yale and Princeton, engineering and medical schools and hospitals. The students sat in on classes, spoke with the faculty members and with Negro and Puerto Rican students who were working for higher degrees.

Gradually the students became aware of the more positive side of their city and of living in general. Their sights were raised to higher vocational and professional aspirations. Eventually, two Special Progress classes were established for the gifted children of western Harlem as well as of '43'.

What specific accomplishments were reaped by the program, as demonstrated by changes in attitude and achievement? The change in pupil attendance was particularly interesting. During the life of the program, the truancy rate has dropped, so that now it is below the city average; attendance is up to 1.87 per cent. above the city norm. Likewise, the number of Children's Court appearances by pupils has declined to one-half that of the city and one-third that of six comparable junior high schools.

The median seventh grade student in the program was 1.4 years retarded in reading and paragraph meaning in 1956, but by graduation was 3 months above grade level. This was a growth of 4.3 years in 2.6 years, or an average growth of 1.7 years each year. The previous average growth rate had been 0.8 years each year. In 1956, approximately 20 per cent. of the group was at, or above, grade level in paragraph meaning. By 1959, the percentage had increased to 54 per cent.

Project students who took the Otis Beta Intelligence Test in the sixth grade in 1955, and in the ninth grade in 1959, registered an average gain of approximately 4 points, with 21 per cent. of the group recording gains of 11 points or more. In addition to the advances noted in the project group, the whole student body appears to have made gains in achievement and attendance and to show a more positive school spirit.

Because of the apparent success of the program in '43', the Demonstration Guidance

Project was continued in George Washington High School with a pilot group from '43'. Here, too, a massive campaign was initiated to raise vocational sights. Counsellors worked intensively, not only with the pupils, but also with the parents. When resistance was met from the latter, attempts were made to reach other relatives who might help. A large part of the task was to persuade parents to forego the meager financial contribution of a child from an unskilled job so that he might better prepare himself for a college or a career.

Realizing that students needed considerable assistance to compile strong academic records for college admission, counsellors gave concentrated instruction in remedial reading and arithmetic. Provision was made for limited class registers, 10–15 pupils in mathematics and foreign languages. Double periods were organized in English, where class size was restricted to 25. Below average registers were also set up for special classes in social studies and science. Where students still needed special help, tutorial groups of two to six pupils were formed and given assistance after school. As at '43' the cultural horizon was broadened and enriched by trips to the ballet, opera, concerts, and theatre and college campuses.

Again, the project paid rich dividends. Sixty students, or 85 per cent. of the first pilot group which graduated from George Washington High School in 1961 went on to some form of higher education. This figure is more significant when compared to the city-wide average of 55 per cent. Of the group, 19 went on to four-year colleges, 14 to two-year colleges, 15 to evening colleges, 8 to business schools, and 6 to nursing schools or technical institutes.

Several of the students received scholarships to these colleges and four won State Regents scholarships. Eleven earned honors in one or more subjects, three won seven medals of accomplishment for academic work, and three received 'outstanding citizenship' awards. As Principal Henry Hillman at George Washington High School noted: 'In the past, a large number of our most difficult discipline problems came from students from '43'... Since the program began, few students in the project group have been reported for discipline. To-day we consider

the project students good school citizens.'

Concomitant with the changes in attitude and academic achievement have been changes in I.Q. Of the pilot group 59 per cent. not only were a year or more behind in one or several subject areas when they entered high school, but also half had a verbal I.Q. score below 100. However, a comparison of the I.Q. scores on the Pinter Test of General Ability (Verbal Series, Advanced Form 3) made by the remaining eleventh-year project group at George Washington, in June, 1959, with the results achieved by the same group in their eighth year at '43' (on Intermediate Form B of the same test) showed an average gain of 7 points. Forty out of 105 students showed gains of 10 points or more, and thirteen (all boys) registered increases of 21 to 50 points. A five point change, plus or minus, would have been considered normal for this group. However, on the basis of past school experience a drop in I.Q. score could have been expected from these pupils, as they moved to higher levels, because of their culturally deprived background and reading disability. All of these achievements had been attained with the relatively small expenditure of \$ 250.00 per pupil.

Because of the success of the Demonstration Guidance Project in '43' the Higher Horizons program was established in 1959 on a city-wide basis, even before the results were known of the continuing pilot study at George Washington. The Higher Horizons program is a broadened approach to meeting the needs of deprived areas. It encompasses all levels from elementary through senior high school and aims at raising the educational and vocational sights of all children — bright, average and slow — so that each, not just the brightest, may reach his optimum potential. As in the pioneering Demonstration Guidance Project, there is provision for additional services for guidance, teacher training, remedial instruction, and cultural enrichment. Again, too, the schools are generally in deprived areas. At present the program embraces 32,000 pupils on all levels in the New York City public schools. It serves as a model for similar programs in depressed neighbourhoods in Washington, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Wilmington, Delaware. It can

likewise serve as a model for salvaging human resources in other large urban areas throughout the world, where the problems of depressed neighbourhoods spread a similar disease of academic, social, and cultural deprivation. It can give hope to underdeveloped regions in which a large percentage of the people must overcome the handicap of poverty and illiteracy.

Fundamentally, the program has shown the validity of the democratic faith in the worth

and dignity of the individual and in man's ability to rise above an unfavorable environment. It demonstrates the function of governmental and educational institutions in a democracy to serve the welfare of all its people through seeking talent from all levels of society. It endeavors to free a neglected segment of the present, and therefore future, generation from a debilitating and unnecessary cycle of poverty, ignorance, deprivation, and degradation.

School and Communication

Harry Shaw

I met *John R.* some six years ago when I was teaching in a London Primary School. He was nine years old and his family had just moved into the district from another part of London. The report from the Head of his last school had indicated that John was very troublesome and that he had caused at least one teacher to leave the school. I too found him very troublesome indeed, and discussed the problem with my headmaster who felt we needed some outside help in this case. Shortly afterwards *John R.* left the school and I learned that he had been sent to a residential School for Maladjusted Children.

Although it was painfully obvious that this boy was 'maladjusted', I was not aware at that time that there existed machinery for ascertainment of maladjusted children nor that there were residential schools for them; and I was only dimly aware of such places as Child Guidance Clinics. However, as a result of my experiences with John I became much interested in the whole question of abnormal behaviour, and discovered that the Report of the Underwood Committee on Maladjusted Children had just been published. It was following on this that I was given a place on the 1956-7 Diploma Course for Teachers of Maladjusted Children, held at The Institute of Education, London University. Since passing this course, I have worked in a Residential School for Maladjusted Children, and am at present engaged as a Remedial Teacher in a child guidance team.

There are times when I think back to my days at the Primary School and wonder how

John R. has fared during these years. At these times I also ask myself what sort of approach I would have, were I now to return to primary school teaching. What would I look for, bearing in mind the many children who need special help without exhibiting distress signals anything like as obviously as did *John R.*?

School life involves considerable strain, especially at certain periods. As teachers we are faced with the problem of helping to organize school situations so that children are not harmed by having to bear strains which they may not yet be fitted to take; they must be helped to gain in strength through being encouraged to face and deal with difficulties, and through having a chance to stretch themselves to their limits. This means that the teacher is committed to making full allowance for individual differences, and I certainly regard this as the basis of a correct approach, — an alertness to differences in functioning.

We know that variations in innate mental ability account in part for some children being ready for their basic subjects earlier than others; one seven-year-old may have the intellectual ability of an average nine-year-old, another that of an average five to six, whilst neither child need be abnormal. Quite obviously too, differences in home background and experience affect readiness for learning; a child coming from a home where there is little in the way of printed matter or interesting conversation may suffer a handicap in his reading readiness. Again, some parents of every social class, being happy and well adjusted

themselves, help their children to emotional maturity; others in bad relationship produce a state of tension in the home which hampers their children's personal development. Some parents are too absorbed in each other.

A flexible curriculum reveals the differences between one child and another and enables a teacher to make adjustments in accordance with them. For such a curriculum to be successful a teacher must have some understanding of child development and be alive to children's needs. He must be ready to widen their sphere of interest, set standards of achievement which stretch capacity, know when and how to revive enthusiasm and stimulate enquiry, as well as being quick to notice the fact that children have exhausted themselves and need time for recuperation before starting on something new.

It is important to take into account the teacher's own anxieties. We as teachers are sometimes over-anxious when dealing with the question of say literacy, particularly when teaching slow learners. This anxiety can easily be passed on to children and make them feel inferior. If we want to be 'good providers' we must show confident interest, not gnawing anxiety.

In our concern for the welfare and mental health of all children but particularly for the more needy ones, it is necessary to watch the effects of competition. Too strong a degree of competition with its inevitable complement of failure may result in stresses very harmful to mental health. Tasks can be arranged that are sufficiently varied, so that there is something for each member to do reasonably well. It is when the school and class organization is such that each child can proceed at his own rate, assimilating as much as he is able of what the school environment and outside experiences have to offer, that balanced development is achieved. Success is desirable for all and should be possible for the least able, but even for the most gifted it must be obtained through *effort*. A series of tests of increasing difficulty is one way of enabling each individual child to measure his present against his past achievement. This is an advance on ordinary competitive work and can increase interest and satisfaction in the work itself.

Discussion on competition would not be complete without reference to the annual scramble for grammar school places. It is well known that in some few areas the number of places is relatively large, sometimes enough for over forty per cent. of the age group; but such areas are rare. In some areas the proportion of grammar school places available is sufficient for about ten per cent. of the age group. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the selection procedure is a most potent source of worry and insecurity to all, not least the children. But this is not the whole story. The examination looming ahead causes both teachers and parents to be anxious about the children's progress not merely during the last year in the junior school, but throughout the whole of primary schooling. This anxiety to get 'results' may well hamper the child's development throughout his junior school life.

I most certainly believe that amongst the things I would *look for* upon a return to the primary school, is 'unstreaming'. I think that most children benefit by such an organization, freed from rigidity. The important fact is that although streaming in the junior school may 'gather up the 'spread' of ability and attainment into a single class, it does not provide a homogeneous group. The children within any one class, even in a three-stream school, will still vary greatly from one another, and so need varied treatment.

In the primary school in England and Wales it is customary each year to transfer a group of children from class to class and teacher to teacher. One wonders whether there is anything more to justify this than custom? I would hope for a change in this arrangement. I think that the teacher who keeps his class for several years becomes aware of development and experiences change in children far in advance of that which he sees in a year, not only because the change itself is greater, but also because it can be appreciated cumulatively. Transfer from one teacher to another should come at a point determined by a child's changing needs and after an adequately long period with one teacher. This would match a flexible organization catering strongly for individual needs.

There is great need for research and experi-

mentation in primary school work. Some teachers have written down descriptions of their work, and it behoves all of us to keep in touch with current research and where possible to contribute towards covering the common ground between school and child guidance clinic. In this sense too, I would *look for* opportunities to undertake experiments within the school whenever possible. It would be interesting for example to experiment with the curriculum to discover what in fact would be most likely to conduce to mental health as well as to intellectual growth.

I now see a certain number of children upon whom the school has obviously made little or no impact. There is a curious lack of affect in their whole attitude towards attendance at school. It would seem that they are content to present their bodies, obtain an attendance mark, and then allow lessons to be given to them. The whole thing smacks of complete passivity and absence of response. These children have difficulty in explaining the reason for such an attitude on their part. They can only confirm the fact that it is so with them.

One can think of *Micheal D*, a big fourteen-year-old, with peculiar gait, and indistinct speech. He is by no means a lad with whom contact, rapport, or what you will is impossible. He is in no sense 'frozen'. It would seem to me that in this case, as in so many others, there is a breakdown in communication somewhere along the line. The boy cannot, unaided, take the necessary steps to establish or re-establish the lines of communication which have become blocked or which perhaps have never started to function. Yet one knows that this boy, like many others, is desperately wanting someone to offer a lead. When such a lead is not forthcoming, they are more and more resigned to becoming mere attenders at school instead of participants. *Michael* for example, has a terrific fund of knowledge about all manner of sports and motor cars. Yet quite obviously he has not been able to turn this to account in school as a means of contact, or as a useful medium for the exchange of ideas. He finds little difficulty in transmitting his knowledge, ideas and skills whilst in a welcoming atmosphere. This boy was

obviously 'lost' somewhere along the line in the Junior School and has never found his way back.

Graham V is the youngest in a family of three who came to this country from abroad at the age of five or six. His mother is English but up to the time of his arrival here he had certainly not heard much English spoken. He had definitely not been brought up on 'under fives' radio programmes, or listened to nursery rhymes and such like in English. In fact he had no 'reading readiness' as we know it at all. By the time he started school he was 'too old' for the reception class; he was then subjected to various changes of teachers due to staff leaving and so on. He was unable to settle down; lessons just 'drifted' over his head. The result has been apathy and boredom for this boy. None the less he has a certain natural resilience and one feels that despite many difficulties some adjustment may well follow, provided he is presented with sufficient opportunities for communication to develop.

In conclusion: we must look for opportunities to provide the children with as creative an environment as we can devise; to offer them situations of personal security in relation to the school and opportunities for co-operation with each other; to help them with experiences which stimulate thought and study, and to give them freedom to manipulate materials within their compass, so learning to face and solve their problems. In this way they will be freed of internal stress, and so will be able to use their energies to the full. This positive approach will contribute to the establishment of mental health in most primary children.

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Teachers as Observers

V. C. Ashwell, Remedial Teacher, Crawley, W. Sussex

A YOUNG TEACHER delivered an ultimatum to her headmaster from what, in these days of acute teacher shortage, can be regarded as a position of strength: — 'Either he goes or I leave.' The 'he' in this particular case was a nine-year-old boy, — a very dirty little nine-year-old and, what was the main source of offence, very, very smelly. Leaving attitudes aside, this is a rather blatant example of observation on the part of the teacher. A 'noisome smell' as mediaeval writers phrased it almost amounts to an intrusion on one's personal hygiene; it can be like a slap in the face. A kick on the shins can evoke the same sort of observation — that the person who delivers it is aggressively inclined and violent to boot. This dramatic instance is quoted to illustrate how any observations of behaviour or symptoms involve concern and action of some sort, either negative or positive.

A teacher's aid is enlisted to observe, and take steps to reveal, those children in his care who may be suffering from certain physical defects or conditions e.g. children with poor vision who may need glasses, the hard of hearing and so on. Every teacher should know by his own observation those children who are left-handed, those who do reversals, writing 'b' for 'd' or reading 'tap' for 'pat'. Sometimes teachers, in their role of observers, are seduced by authority or a misguided sense of vocation, into exposing the liars and pilferers.

It is true however to say that the majority of teachers to-day would agree that the proper study of the teacher is the taught; that the child is more important than the subject. This is especially so in the primary schools, where children are likely to be attached to one teacher — to a person — rather than to a class or a subject.

A teacher has unique opportunities for observing the behaviour of children both in the classroom and, perhaps even more important, in the playing field or playground. He becomes aware of the child who cannot play with others without seeking to dominate — as distinct from

leading. There is always one child who 'leeches' on to the teacher on playground duty because he is afraid of the rough play — which is a fear of violence either in himself or in others.

The many kinds of behaviour which may possibly have pathological aspects can be roughly arranged in two lists:

1. *Attention seeking*: nuisance value behaviour, overt and eminently successful from the child's viewpoint: aggressive and violent; over-talkative; over-active (jumping up and down, never in his desk, wants to help teacher), disagreeable, truculent; non-accepting of any form of authority, swearing — used as a weapon to shock or embarrass; pilfering (I took it Sir' 'But why?' 'Don't know, Sir').

2. *Attention avoiding*: — covert: withdrawn ('I never know when he is away'); timid; indulging in fantasy — confusion of fantasy with reality; insecure or anxious ('seems to have the world's burden on his shoulders'). Children manifesting these behaviour traits are not necessarily deeply disturbed, but all need help if they are to benefit from the community life of the school.

The teacher who comes to regard observation as an integral part of his job with children, will find that the emphasis shifts from a purely functional relationship with its narrow, subject-teaching basis to a more intimate, interesting, human relationship which tends to enrich the teacher as well as to help the child.

What help can the teacher give? What technique can he employ to resolve some of the emotional stress which is made apparent by his observations? If a child is profoundly disturbed, it is best for the Head or the parents to ask for help from the Child Guidance Clinic.

The help that any individual teacher can give depends very much on the level of his relationship with the children in his class. If he is a good subject-teacher commanding the respect of his class he will be in a better position to help those children who need it.

Subject-teaching itself can offer opportunities

of revealing and relieving hidden emotional stresses. It is interesting to note that the more imaginative approach to the teaching of, for example, English composition and arithmetic, not only meets with greater academic success but has considerable therapeutic value. A composition which is written as a medium for expressing thoughts and feelings, without fear of being damned for bad spelling or writing, can often be an 'unburdening' experience for the child. Similarly, approximation in arithmetic gives the child a chance to plunge and be wrong excusably. A child should be commended more for right thinking than for right answers.

To some children, the school offers the only security they know and some of the most extravagant behaviour is indulged in to test that security, not as would appear to flout

authority. The child is saying, in effect, 'I hope you can hold me', not 'You can't hold me.'

The period of school life is, for many people, the last regulated opportunity they may have of laying a sound basis for future personal relationships. The ability to observe behaviour or symptoms which point to a fear of forming such relationships can be truly educational. Experienced teachers and youth employment officers have observed that the school-leaver who may not be gifted with a very high I.Q. but who possesses heart-intelligence, that is, the ability to respond positively to other people, finds his niche readily in the adult community. The young people who worry those who are concerned with after-school placement are those, who, with G.C.E. in their back pocket, have failed to make any human contacts except on a very superficial level.

Learners All — Especially the Headmistress

Miss B. E. Ginner

WHAT MAKES A HEADMISTRESS?' was the headline pointed out to me amusedly by my school clerical assistant. 'I wouldn't know' I remarked, and the columns below the headline weren't much help. The writer seemed to suggest that high academic standards were no longer demanded, and that personal charm, social grace and organizing ability were more desirable, since heads these days spent more time running their schools than teaching in them. What, I wondered, were the committee who appointed me to the job looking for, and why did they think I could manage a large infants' school? To these questions, of course, I have no reply, but it is possible to pose another to which I can pour out a chaotic collection of answers.

During the first two and a half years of trying to do the job, what has gone towards making me a headmistress? Relationships formed and reformed, rewards accepted gratefully, frustrations endured and sometimes kicked against, but more than all these, beliefs and ideals attacked, shaken, re-examined and strengthened — the entire process a living,

shifting, changing, continuing experience, as all real learning situations must be.

To a human being, the prospect of change arouses anxiety, for to be able to accept change and adapt to it means further life, but inability to do so spells death. Therefore a new head's first task is to become aware of what changes mean to her staff, and particularly which teachers are ready to welcome them and which are not. Symptoms of anxiety are probably obvious — suspicion, a 'take it or leave it' attitude, harsh and repressive classroom discipline. My predecessor seems to have been a victim of the driving force of her own high standards, and release from this pressure meant an additional cause for anxiety amongst my staff. I therefore asked them all to continue as they had been doing, and to let me find out what seemed to need to be changed. But I added that suggestions from anyone who wanted to do things differently would be very welcome. In saying this, I hoped to indicate that the security of the known would be available to all who wanted it but that there would be opportunities for those who wished to make alterations. I

insisted that the class teacher was the person who had to decide what was best for the children in her care, and that her sincerity was essential. This was intended to be a step towards a double security — for me in getting to know my staff, for them in developing a new kind of security, arising from inner convictions not external compulsions.

This then was the basis on which I formed relationships with the teachers I had inherited — relationship which I firmly believed would be reflected in what they did in the classroom, since as the head is to her assistants, so are they to their children. Consequently, I looked for every opportunity to commend and praise: to use suggestions made to me and to back up efforts — for instance, by providing extra materials. I tried to see that sparks of individuality were cherished (Christmas parties and class open days gave me chances here) and seized on special interests and strong points. Above all, I constantly reminded myself that as we were all in an educational establishment, I must not deny teachers the learning opportunities which were being provided for children and headmistress. By seeking out and valuing individuality, I hoped to create a team; a community which would increasingly and willingly say: 'This is what *we* do', although recognizing the freedom which every English teacher has to say: 'Well I don't.'

Miss X was my biggest problem at first. A teacher of considerable experience, she seemed genuinely interested in her job and was keen for her children to get on. Her unrecognized anxiety created an atmosphere of stress in the classroom and there were many parental complaints. She revealed after a while a long-standing interest and ability in mathematics, which were of great use to us all as we discussed this subject at staff meetings. I began compiling a new scheme of work as a result of these discussions and what I had seen in various classrooms, and after Miss X had been on a Ministry mathematics course, she remarked that we seemed to be on the right lines. This discovery undoubtedly helped to lessen the tension in her classroom, although I am still amused by what she chooses to ignore, as well as interested in the results of the rethinking

that she does permit herself to do.

The present uncertainty over mathematics, by the way, has been of the greatest possible use to me. I have been able to show my staff my concern for children as they really are — creatures who are working to structure ideas out of haphazard experiences rather than, as teachers think they ought to be, able to recognize figures at five and do sums in the four rules at seven. We have adventured together into new ways of looking at mathematics, and we have not been afraid of finding enjoyment nor of admitting ignorance.

I mentioned earlier my desire to have a staff with a feeling of community, but this is proving extremely difficult to attain, because rapid staff turnover means that there are changes every term. Infants' school teachers tend to marry early and have families, and two have left my staff each year for this reason alone. The education officer takes the view that in the present staffing situation a certain number of child minders are inevitable in classrooms, and so I have had to be grateful for the help offered by totally untrained volunteer mothers who have become class teachers for a term or two. They have been willing to learn the job by watching others, by discussion with me and in the staffroom, and by trying things out when asked to take a class.

Other members of the team who need a great deal of help and special consideration are the youngsters in their probationary year. I have had two: one came with an excellent college record and one with a poor one, but both needed help with the same difficulties. These can be roughly classified as in-school and out-of-school problems. The former can be best dealt with by tempering the wind to the shorn lamb, and grading the obstacles which have to be faced in the first years of teaching, for example by removing a group of the slowest learners from the class for a time every day. But it is the out-of-school life of the young teacher which concerns me most, because I am unable to do very much about it, if in fact I should do anything at all.

I wonder if this is the right moment for a girl to leave home, to learn to cope with living in digs or a bedsitter at the same time as learn-

ing to assume professional responsibilities. It is even possible these days for the first year of married life to coincide with the first year of teaching. Has anyone ever thought it worthwhile to ponder on the tremendous demands made on such young people, and what a middle-aged spinster like me can do to help? Less dramatic but none the less real is the adjustment necessary when living in an unknown kind of place: for instance, a girl from a quiet country town going to a manufacturing city, or one from a select girls' school to a polyglot inner suburb, or one from a village settled in its ways for generations going to a new town, or the farmer's daughter who thought she would have an assured supply of tadpoles, since her school was near Balls Pond Road, London N. 1. Even making one's way for the first time as an adult into the life of a strange place is not necessarily easy, and the public image of a teacher is not particularly attractive to some novices when they find themselves associated with it.

In making these remarks, I am not criticizing what training colleges do or do not do except on two points. One is that in emphasizing the further education of the ex-school-girl at the expense of the professional training of the future teacher, may they not be making the change-over from the one to the other more abrupt and therefore more disturbing than it need be? The second suggestion is for more psychiatric help to be available to students in training, particularly those who are going to find adult and professional demands oppressive, or for whom difficulties in adjustment may be too much. Some people say that more students should be failed early in their college course; I should prefer to offer them more chance to succeed.

But apart from these generalized suggestions, the colleges can no more prepare students for their probationary year than the infants' school can prepare children for the 11-plus examination. Both trials have to be faced when the time comes, with suitable sympathy and support, and for the probationer teacher this ought to mean help from outside the school as well as from inside it. 'First year out' discussion groups run by an Institute of Education or a

Child Guidance Clinic can be of immense value here and could be more numerous than they are. Is there any pooling of ideas going on by the people who lead such groups, and if so, may we head teachers know what the findings are?

The intellectual stimulus I have had from the educational psychologist and the psychiatric social worker of our local clinic is one of the rewards in my life as a headmistress, as is the friendliness shown to me by the heads of neighbouring infants' schools.

These relationships have helped to mitigate the inevitable loneliness of a head's position and I realize that I am particularly fortunate in this respect. Visits from the local authority's advisers have proved stimulating and rewarding, although I am relieved that Her Majesty's Inspectors have remembered my rawness and have kept away. Parents I am always glad to see, and I think it important that I am available as quickly as possible when they have decided to come to me. Their worry usually presses upon them urgently, but a chance to talk it out, often with much repetition, seems to be what is most needed. I have found that parents are usually prepared to take a realistic look at their children, and seem grateful that I am willing to discuss them from all points of view, with no recriminations. I wish I could give more time to these interviews, particularly to mothers who are or have been mentally ill enough to go into hospital: there are quite a number of these and the resilience of their children amazes me.

It is also worth while to spend time with parents of children starting school, and it has been one of my greatest joys to get this important moment in a child's life organized so that it is based on considerations of individual needs. I am grateful to my reception class teachers who have accepted willingly both my strange ideas on the subject, and the presence of parents in their classrooms. Having staff who will grow in response to her nurturing care is perhaps the biggest reward a headmistress can have, and it is one which never ceases to humble and surprise me. A remark from a wise observer of the educational scene remains with me as a distant guiding light: 'A really good head will take a very ordinary

teacher and get her to give a first class performance.' But here my anxiety appears, for suppose I turn out to be not a good head at all: suppose I have exchanged a classroom job that I can do for one of a different kind that I can't do? After years of success, have I got to face failure? Maybe.

As for frustrations — yes of course, there are many. I will only allow myself to hint at those associated with administrative impersonality, delay, red tape and remoteness. Is it really necessary to keep so much power in the hands of office staff and committees? If head teachers are responsible enough to educate the ratepayer's children, can't they be trusted to spend the ratepayer's money wisely in so doing? How many staffing officers really know what effect the shortage of teachers is having in the schools, and how many of them are determined against muddling through, hoping for the best, and are preparing realistic crash programmes for the year of intermission? Bitterness, I'm afraid, and ruefulness creep into my thoughts of how severe a discipline for me staff absences are. I have to watch the younger children being upset and the older ones marking time when teachers are absent, and this happens even if

I take the class myself. I have moments of despair that I cannot know three hundred and sixty children in the way that a class teacher knows them, and even if I plan regular periods of teaching for myself it is sometimes impossible for me to carry out my intentions.

Perhaps I must learn to organize my distractions better. I know that I haven't yet fully accepted the consequences of my belief that my staff must do things in their own way, and that they may be right and I may be wrong. Varying standards of classroom order, care and tidiness still distress me, and I struggle constantly to decide what really matters and what is just my petty-mindedness.

I fear that there is much wishful thinking in what I have written. To get a true picture of what has gone into the making of me as a headmistress, my staff should have been asked to write a parallel article on how the process has appeared to them. For if there is one belief that remains with me quite unshaken and constantly strengthened it is belief in the phantom nature of the ideal state we call maturity. Emotionally we are all children, more or less: intellectually we must remain children, learners all.

Teacher-Learner Relationships

Eileen M. Churchill, Lecturer in Education, University of Leicester

ATITUDES TOWARDS learning new things are formed very early in life and are enduring, for the child brings them with him into every subsequent learning situation. His behaviour when he first comes to school will take into account both his expectations of the behaviour of others towards him, and his assumptions about how he should behave towards them.

Five-year-old *John* walks into the classroom, grins at his new teacher, looks around him, and before the first half-hour is up is to be found actively exploring his new environment, discovering and learning under his own steam and as a result of his own activity. Already he has developed a certain sense of responsibility for initiating his own learning and has assumed that there is permission from the adult to do so.

In contrast, *Susan* at the same age in the same classroom with the same teacher stands waiting to be told what to do. From a distance she watches her new teacher dealing with other children and initiates no further action for herself. Indeed it may be several days, even weeks before she becomes able to give herself fully to the new situation.

Brian, on the other hand, seems to find it essential to be in close physical proximity to the teacher. He follows her round the room, perhaps takes hold of her hand or has a little weep which secures for him her undivided attention for a few minutes.

All these, and many other varieties of behaviour, show how the child brings with him into school a whole set of assumptions about what kind of person his teacher is, how she will feel

about him, how he should behave towards her, what kinds of things are good to do in this situation and what kinds of things are bad. These assumptions and the enduring attitudes that underlie them have been formed very early in life, for the earliest teacher-learner relationships are those between the young child and his father, mother and siblings.

His school teacher too comes to the situation with certain assumptions about her role as a teacher. She has her image of the good teacher and the bad, and also images of children's responses to her. Some teachers take it for granted that children will like them and will want to learn from them — assumptions which they do not consciously think about at all. Others are doubtful about this, finding it necessary to adopt an ingratiating manner in order to win children to their side; while still others assume that there is going to be a pretty constant battle for the upper hand between themselves and the children, and that children will see them as a threat to their own wish to express themselves.

All this will suggest that the relationship between teacher and learner is complex and dynamic. It is a process in which two or more persons come together, each with an individual history of development and experience which influences what they are able to put into and take from their relationship. Each may need to revise or modify images based on past experience, before he can assimilate the person as he really is, not as he wishes or fears that he may be. Nevertheless it is important to remember that what is assimilated never corresponds completely with the reality outside.

It has often been assumed that, in teacher-learner relationships, the traffic moves in one direction only, that the teacher has certain knowledge and skills which he has to give to the child. These he must transmit to him at all cost, and the more facts he manages to stuff in the more successful he has been. The success of his methods can be tested by a certain kind of examination. But rarely is the question asked: 'How usable to a child is the knowledge he has acquired?' or perhaps a more useful question would be: 'Can the possession of a collection of facts be equated with the posses-

sion of knowledge?', 'Is there any meaning in the term knowledge, apart from the knowers and what they know?' These were the kinds of question A. N. Whitehead was concerned with in his criticisms of the educational practices of his day when he talked about the accumulation of 'inert ideas'.

Though methods of education have changed quite dramatically during the last decade, there are places where this traditional approach can still be found. How many people reading this paper were taught arithmetic by rule of thumb methods? — a blackboard demonstration of how to do a particular kind of sum, then practice till most of the class had committed the method to memory, then on to the next process. How many of us were ever asked to consider the meaning of the language of mathematics we were using? Perhaps one of the reasons why we have such a shortage of mathematicians to-day is not because, as used to be assumed, the learning of mathematics involves a special ability possessed only by the few, but because it is taught as a dead language. One learns how to obey the grammar of mathematics but not how to use the language.

From the point of view of learning, this is tantamount to offering a child food which he cannot digest, and some of the psychological consequences of this are pretty clear in cases of learning failure in school which are referred to the Child Guidance Clinics. It is not unusual to find children of more than average intelligence referred for specific difficulties in arithmetic and mathematics, and to find that an appreciation of mathematical concepts and the handling of mathematical relations are well within their grasp once they understand the source of their resistance to learning and become able to discover the nature of the living language.

As regards the teacher, the knowledge and skill which he has is very often the source of his sense of power. He is the knower and can use what he possesses to maintain his role as the authority figure. Teachers who need power of this kind to bolster up their inner securities find it extremely difficult to accept for themselves more modern conceptions of the teacher's

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role in education, because they need their defenses.

Another aspect of the traditional methods of teaching is important. They take for granted that children do not wish to learn and that in order to get their co-operation, non-learning must be found to be more painful than learning. Thus punishment provides the main incentive for work, along with competitive systems of rewards. Happenings in school are turned into moral questions and every day is a judgment day.

If the child co-operates in this conspiracy he may well acquire a number of important skills and a large collection of facts – and indeed by this kind of test the method may have been highly successful. But it seems to be important to consider what may have happened to his personality during the process. If he has been an abject learner, dependent and submissive to authority, it is likely that the learning will not have been taken in but rather annexed, out of a defensive identification. During the course of my work with students in training for teaching, and with practising teachers, I have met from time to time with a student who is rigid and inflexible, who seems compelled to continue to think and feel in ways habitual to him because they meet some basic need. Learning involves change, and the capacity for change hinges on the student's capacity for new relationships. So for any teacher the crucial question about any learner is: 'Can he give himself freely, identify, maintain his essential separateness, and be influenced without undue anxiety? How much and how compellingly is he tied to the past in the sense of being tied to past authorities?' Occasionally, one meets students who are so tied to past mentors, through whom their thinking has been derived, that they cannot accept new concepts, even intellectually. They dare not think anew. Others may dare to think but not to act anew. They may give new concepts intellectual acceptance, but be unable to use them because to do so would be to be free beyond their capacity; the best they can do is to replace their dependence on the old mentor with dependence on the new one.

Another way of putting what I have been

trying to say is that the old traditional systems of teaching offered a solution to the authority problem for both teacher and learner. But the solution is more apparent than real. For the learner, the teacher's authority may be a substitute for natural dangers — a reality substitute, a protection against his own bad impulses and a reinforcement of his good ones, particularly his desire to acquire knowledge. In these circumstances, he may never outgrow the habit of dependency and become his own authority. This applies as much in the university and later settings as in the earlier school ones.

The most striking contrast between traditional and so-called 'modern' methods of education is that the teacher is now asked to think about learning as well as teaching, and to consider what is going on in the learner in relation to what he is offering. The correct timing of the offering is at least as important as what he offers, and the aim is that the relationship between the learner and himself shall continuously promote learning readiness. Furthermore, since learning always consists of moving from the known into the unknown, it is always a process not only of discovery but of rediscovery. The learner needs not only to find a meaning for his discoveries but also to become aware of those parts of his already stored knowledge to which they are related. Unless he is accommodating in this sense, he cannot really assimilate new knowledge. The teacher has an important role to play in this. He must find ways of helping a child to become more conscious of these processes; otherwise there is a danger that the new knowledge will remain in the form of isolated facts, instead of a network of connections both within the newly-discovered, and between this and what has already become part of his stored knowledge.

In every teacher-learner relationship there are experiences of success and experiences of failure, and the extent to which the learner develops the capacity not merely to 'take failure' but to use mistakes and problems as a way of growth depends very largely, in the early stages, on the attitudes the teacher brings to this joint enterprise. The parent or teacher

who sets goals for the child which are unrealistic or always just out of reach, and who is never satisfied with what the child offers him, is making it difficult for him to enjoy the fruits of his transitional learnings. The child needs to be able to enjoy his successes and to use them also as a way of growth. He relies on his teacher for an evaluation of his learning and is always looking for clues as to how his growth is being regarded.

The role of the teacher to-day is a more subtle one than that of the traditional teacher and, because of the flexibility required and the orientation of his thinking towards what is going on in the children, it is a difficult one for the teacher who has not solved the problems of relationship to authority within himself. Unless he has done this it is very difficult for him — without feeling hurt by his rejection — to allow the child to reject what is offered if he is not ready for it.

For the child must be allowed to do his own learning, to make mistakes sometimes and to experience success at others, and to use both constructively. There are many situations in which the teacher is not a necessary ingredient in the learning process, and he has to be able to ask himself constantly: 'Am I needed at this point?'; and to withdraw in situations where it is obvious that the learner is getting on with the task of learning. (This learning may derive directly from his own experience, observations and experiments with the outer world, and indirectly from books and other sources of knowledge.)

What I am saying here is that the teacher can give in many kinds, that the gift in any one situation and moment of time will be different from the gift at another. To offer knowledge and skill is one kind of gift, but time and space in which a child can be and become himself is quite another. In terms of the music behind the words, the tune is different. When knowledge and skill is offered, the child hears music which says: 'Teacher has something I haven't got, he is the Knower, I am ignorant', and he has to be able to see himself as a receiving kind of person. His capacity to receive will depend upon what kind of music he hears, not on what kind of music the teacher

thinks he is making! Similarly, when it is permission which is being offered, the child who hears in the music: 'You can do it, you are capable, you have things of value inside you' is more likely to be able to take the gift of permission than the child who hears in it: 'Teacher is leaving me in the lurch, he is not going to give me his secrets.'

Every reaction or statement by a parent or teacher to a child communicates to the child something about the way he is viewed by the adult. It is out of the whole complex of these communications that the child concludes what kind of person he is. This self-image may be of a loved and wanted person, someone who can do things; or his picture may be of someone who can't do things, who is not valued or wanted. As we observed at the beginning of this article, this image is well formed by the time the child reaches school, but from now on every communication from the teacher influences his further development either by increasing his sense of responsibility for doing his own learning and his belief in his own capacity to do this, or by increasing his feelings of dependency and inadequacy. Even the way in which material is presented in a lesson will have a message to the self-image though this is not intended by the teacher.

In the group setting which obtains in most school situations, communications to an individual are also communications to all the other members of the group. Praise to one child may be heard as punishment to those not similarly rewarded, and the gift of needed knowledge or skill to one member of the class may be felt as a gift of love to him, in which others are included or excluded. This phenomenon is not confined to children, of course, and adults have many opportunities for discovering how easily self-esteem can be wounded and how vulnerable self-images can be. Much of the dynamics of group behaviour in a classroom can be explained in these terms, and there is a music here which the teacher must learn to listen to.

From the point of view of the child he is moving from the 'family' setting, in which he has a special and unique position vis-à-vis the rest of the group, into a group of contem-

poraries. This may be a painful experience because it presents the problems of sharing in a new form, and feelings of rivalry and jealousy may be revived. These lead to certain moves by the learners both between themselves and towards the teacher, and certain responses from the teacher which are all part of the dynamics of the situation. Thus inherent in the situation are sources of anxiety and conflict which affect inter-group relations and the learning process. On the other hand, there are tremendous gains for the child who is able to accept the implications of being part of a group, since he will soon discover that other children have gifts for him and he for them, and be able to enjoy the pleasures of shared experience and group learning. When this happens the group experience may well become a support which enables him to adventure into the unknown, to experiment and make discoveries. It may also provide the controls which help him to develop a sense of responsibility, to learn how to initiate group activity, and to discover what it means to give leadership in some situations and accept from others in others.

From the point of view of the teacher also the group situation presents problems which can be dealt with in different ways. Some teachers behave as if there were no problem. They teach the group as though it were an entity, either by the 'talk and chalk' method, or by dubbing the whole group dunces, teddy-boys, or 'very bright'. Other teachers, feeling the problem to be insoluble, abdicate altogether, excusing themselves by claiming that they are being 'permissive', or even that they are practising 'the new education'!

By reacting in stereotyped ways, the teacher avoids the pain of learning. In contrast many teachers become able to listen to, pick up and use the music being played to them not only by each individual pupil but by the group as a whole, and by so doing become able to establish the group as a common known with which to move forward into the unknown, and to mobilise group processes in pursuit of the learning task. Moreover, the teacher's skill as a helper will increase if he is able to learn more about the children through his successes with some and his failures with others, by con-

sidering not what *John* can do and *Susan* cannot do, but why is he succeeding with *John* and not with *Susan*. This will involve learning not only about them but about himself, and unless he can accept the pain as well as the pleasure in this kind of self-discovery he is unlikely to become a sensitive, insightful teacher.

Most of the unsolved problems in group-learning situations in schools are due not to large numbers and over-crowded classrooms, but to an inability in the teacher to face the situations squarely and feel his way into the feeling of the group. I have seen teachers with small Vith form groups in Grammar Schools who are failing to do this and teachers with

groups of 45-50 five-year-olds who are succeeding. (This is of course *not* an excuse for such an un-natural size of group!)

Froebel said that teachers should be 'more passive and following than categorical and prescriptive'. I have tried to suggest some of the things which make it difficult for them to behave in this way. Role-appreciation involves insights about the group with whom the role is being played and insights about the self to whom the role has been entrusted. Those who train teachers need to think deeply about the kind of training experiences which might foster this kind of learning in their students.

Tribute to a Great Educator

READERS OF *The New Era* the world over will be interested in the festive news of the ninetieth birthday celebration of one of the foremost educators of our century, Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, whose influence on educational thinking and practice through the years has been so strongly felt, not only in his own country but in many others neighboring and distant. 'Education for a changing civilization,' 'the project method,' 'activity leading to further activity,' 'a child learns what he lives; he learns it as he lives it', are a few of the phrases and concepts long associated with Dr. Kilpatrick's name. They are basic to the great educational revolution widely known a few decades back as the Progressive Education movement.

Many other prominent early leaders, and hundreds of active heirs of this movement, joined with critics along with representatives from other countries, to make up the one thousand guests who gathered at Hotel Astor in New York last November 20th, for the Birthday Dinner that honored this great man. The varied backgrounds of those on the dais, as indeed of the enthusiastic guests who filled the Grand Ballroom, reflected the wide range of interests and influence of Dr. and Mrs. Kilpatrick themselves. Stirring tributes were paid by Mr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director, Emeritus of the League for Industrial Demo-

cracy, and by the following speakers: Dr. A. A. Berle, lawyer and diplomat, President Hollis L. Caswell of Teachers College, Columbia University; Mr. Norman Cousins, Editor of *The Saturday Review*; Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, publisher and educator; Dr. Ashley Montagu, anthropologist; and Dr. Sterling M. McMurrin, United States Commissioner of Education. Dr. Kilpatrick's response to these speakers and to his vast audience of friends was a strong restatement of principles with which he has challenged educators throughout a long lifetime.

The following paragraph appeared in the printed birthday program: 'Dr. William Kilpatrick is America's most distinguished and influential philosopher of education. In thirty years of active service in Teachers College, Columbia University, he challenged the thinking of some 20,000 graduate students, many of whom have themselves become leaders in educational thought and practice. Since his retirement in 1938, he has given inspiring leadership to a score of educational and community organizations dedicated to the advancement of democracy and to better human relations in all aspects of our common life. On the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, the life and works of this great and beloved educator and humanitarian are being hailed by his friends and admirers here and throughout the world.'

When asked in his home on Morningside Drive just a few weeks ago if there was something he would like to say especially to the New Education Fellowship, Dr. Kilpatrick answered slowly and thoughtfully, as is his way:

‘Yes, I think I would say to them this: The aim of life and the aim of education is, for everyone, the life good to live. We must help each one to live the life good to live — good in terms of the quality of living and of the satisfaction which the living brings.

‘Nothing in education is more important than to recognize the individual as such and to work with reference to developing *his* potentialities, whatever they may be. If he is very capable, so much to the good. If he is not so capable, that is all right too — so far. We must respect the personality as such, must help each one to develop as best *he can* under the best conditions.

‘The second thing I would say is: We have to utilize the interests of individuals. This does not mean that whatever a child wants to do

is what he ought to do now. But we *start* with his interest; that is the place to start. And we utilize his interest to make it grow as best we can. That gives us the principle of activity leading to further activity.

‘Some people are saying we must come back to subject matter as such. What I would say is: We *use* subject matter. But we don’t reduce work with subject matter to memorizing, as if that took care of the person. That does not take care of the person, does not take care of personality as such.

‘These two principles put together make up democracy. This is the democratic way of living — respect for individuals as persons and for persons as individuals.’

A timely message indeed with which to begin this, his tenth decade of the life good to live!

*Lorene K. Fox, Professor of Education,
Queens College of the City University
of New York; Member, Executive Board
U.S. Section of the N.E.F.*

News and Notes

Bombay Group

DURING 1961, the Executive Committee met twice, in April and July.

A Two-Day Seminar on *Promotion of Democratic Spirit in Educational Institutions* was held in February 1961 in collaboration with the New Education Fellowship, Indian Section, in which 15 schools and 49 members participated. The subject was divided into four groups as follows:

Democracy at Adult Level; Democracy at Student Level; Democracy in relation to the Community and Society; Developing the spirit of Democracy through Academic Work through both the Content and Methods of teaching.

Dr. (Mrs.) Madhuri R. Shah gave two talks on ‘Experimental work in United States and its application in Indian Schools’ in February. A Work-shop was organized on problems of teachers’ organizations in December 1961 which was inaugurated by Dr. Ashby, a visiting lecturer from the United States Educational Foundation.

Mr. Wladyslaw Grazielski, Secretary General,

Polish National Commission for UNESCO, was invited to give a talk on *Education for International Understanding* on 13th December.

The Indian Section has 31 schools affiliated to it. The schools are carrying on different projects and experiments in different fields. These schools, associated to the New Education Fellowship, work as Model Pilot Schools, which try to implement progressive ideas and experiments in educational fields. The research and the work of these experiments are given to neighbouring schools and educational institutions. Further the enthusiasm of these schools for progressive education is spreading in the areas in which these schools are situated.

With the help of New Education Fellowship, Australia Section, the Indian Section is giving 11 scholarships to poor students who are promising and show signs of brilliant career. We are grateful for such mutual help between Australia and India Section.

*K. C. Vyas, Hon. Secretary,
N.E.F. Bombay Group.*

Dutch Section

BEING asked to send W.V.O.'s News and Notes for the June issue of *The New Era* I was rather shocked to see that I had sent none since the November issue of 1959. I wonder whether I should excuse this lack of information about the Dutch Section with a 'because' or 'in spite of' our activities. Anyway, here they are:

On March 14th 1960, W.V.O. celebrated its 25th Anniversary; it had been founded during the International Conference 'Learning to Live Together' in Utrecht on April 26th 1935. W.V.O's Executive Committee were happy that at the dinner party were present the founder-members, Kees and Betty Boeke, and the International Secretary of the N.E.F. Mr. J. B. Annand, (bearing very warm greetings to W.V.O. from our chairman Prof. Dr. Joseph A. Lauwerys, Dr. Peggy Volkov, the late Clare Soper and International Headquarters' Guiding Committee;) also Mr. and Mrs. Henri Biscompte from Belgium. W.V.O. felt honoured by the Message from the President, Prof. Dr. K. G. Saiyidain, which included the comment that practising the New Education in this atomic age 'is a difficult and gigantic undertaking, calling for the co-operation of millions of teachers and other men and women of good will in all parts of the world' and the wish that 'the W.V.O. might play a worthy role in this great crusade.' The Message was published in both English and Dutch in the section's Bulletin.

After the dinner party we showed the film based on Kees Boeke's book *Cosmic View* which was made in Hollywood in 1959.

In his opening address our President, Dr. L. van Gelder outlined the special task of the W.V.O. nowadays in Dutch education. The three aspects of this task he mentioned are:

- to bring together those who purposely pursue the ideas of New Education
- to bring together New Schools
- to promote international understanding and co-operation.

They emerge especially in the conferences on topics of general interest for members and others interested.

Only one year later, in April 1961, the workgroup for Mathematics celebrated its 25th Anniversary too. We can but vaguely imagine what impact this workgroup has had on the teaching of maths. in Dutch Secondary Schools, through its regular monthly meetings, annual conferences and publications.

In January 1961 for the first time we organized a day conference 'for members only', in which some people briefly reported about their work. By doing this, we hoped we might stimulate the idea of fellowship in our section. The results of this first experiment were satisfactory, so we repeated it in January 1962. This experience was encouraging as well, and we are hopeful that here we have started something which may become traditional: to bring W.V.O. members together in a day-conference on the first Saturday in the new year, whatever may be their special fields of interest.

The following conferences were also organized in the period this report covers:

14/15th October 1960:

The Place of the Sciences in Modern Education.

28/29th April 1961:

International Understanding in Education. One of the key speakers was Professor Dr. J. A. Lauwerys. Much attention was paid to the role new developing countries are playing on the international educational scene.

23rd/24th March 1962:

The Place of the Arts in Modern Education.

In September 1960 I had left for the U.S.A., and returned August 1961. During my absence Jan Muusses took over the secretariat of W.V.O. and after my return he remained second secretary which involved the tremendous task of being conference- or projects-secretary. Although the conferences in October 1960 and April 1961 were a heavy burden from the organizational point of view, their preparation was overshadowed by that of the conference on Art Education, which W.V.O. — in co-operation with the Netherlands 'Cultural Contact' (N.C.C.) — organized in March 1962.

Starting point for this conference had been a report on 'Art Education', delivered to the Minister of Education at the end of 1961 by a

Committee set up by him in 1955.

Supported financially by a governmental grant, Jan Muusses set up preparatory groups on Art, Language Arts and Drama, Music, Movement and Film.

They had a tough job preparing the conference professionally within a few months. Muusses not only succeeded in interesting individuals, groups and organizations working in these fields for the conference, but he also presided over the meetings of all the preparatory groups. All felt thrilled by his chairmanship, in whichever field of art education they were specialists. Finally his idealism and organizing talent culminated in a splendid conference, attended on March 24th by the Secretary to the Minister of Education and other official people. The Minister of Education, officially questioned about the report of the State Committee, postponed his reply in view of the conference report which is to be published this month.

W.V.O.'s Executive Committee plan their conferences a pretty long time ahead. During the past 8 months, we have been preparing a conference on *Social Studies* in post-primary education. This conference will take place in October 1962. It will be opened by the Inspector General of Education, Mr. ir. M. Goote. It will be run in groups according to types of school concerned. W.V.O. has found leading specialists willing to take upon themselves the task of group leaders and rapporteurs. This conference too, will be made possible by a grant from the Minister of Education.

Furthermore, ahead is the spring conference 1963 on *Training methods for New Education* and the autumn conference 1963 on the *Jenaplan*, the responsibility for which will lie with the workgroup *Jenaplan* (see *The New Era*, November 1959, p. 216).

The workgroups for *Teaching the Mother Tongue* and *Jenaplan* have met regularly once a month since October 1961. The general topic has been the language development of, and literature for, 6–9 year old children. Both workgroups have published bulletins, which serve as working papers for workgroup members.

The Documentation Centre of the W.V.O. has published further issues of the annotated

bibliographies on *Arithmetic* and *Teaching the Mother Tongue*. A new series came into being called 'Audio-visual aids in modern language teaching'. This series is an immediate outcome of the American experiences with foreign language laboratories. The introduction to this series was written by Dr. J. A. Lauwerys.

Finally, W.V.O. will be host to the meeting of the Executive Board and International Council of the N.E.F. from July 16th – 21st, this year. People who know Utrecht University will, with W.V.O.'s Executive Committee, feel delighted that the Senate of Utrecht University, as in 1956, has offered hospitality to the N.E.F. The plenary session in which Dr. Joseph A. Lauwerys and Dr. Lamberto Borghi will speak on *Problems of European Education from the N.E.F. point of view* will take place in the beautiful auditorium of the University.

So much for W.V.O.'s activities in the period from September 1959 until May 1962.

My stay in the United States from September 1960–August 1961 was not an N.E.F. trip in the true sense of the word. However, Dr. Carleton Washburne's introduction to American Fellow-educationists worked like a magic passport, opening the doors to all the institutions I was interested in. To mention them all – not to speak of the fascinating work done there – would ask for more space than W.V.O. has already had for their activities. Here is a selection at random: In Harvard I met Dr. Robert H. Anderson, who personally showed me Franklin school in Lexington (Mass.) where team teaching was initiated and is carried on under his supervision; introduced by Dr. Anderson I saw non-graded schools in Norwalk and Hebron (Conn.), Elmira Heights (N.Y.); also the Dual Progress Plan in Long Beach (L.I.) (N.Y.). In the University of California (Los Angeles) after a rather extensive correspondence I talked with Dr. John I. Goodlad, co-author of *The Non-Graded School* (written with Dr. Robert A. Anderson). In New Haven, the place of our stay, I was at home in the Southern Connecticut Teacher Training College and its laboratory schools. In New York City I visited Brooklyn, Hunter and Adelphi Colleges and New York University. I did not 'do' these Col-

leges in a rush, but everywhere people spent nearly a day in showing and explaining the projects going on. So I could go on, stretching out the list of names, fascinating for me because of all the personal experiences behind them. I reported on them on different occasions — one time in Cologne. Steadily these United States experiences are being evaluated and integrated in our section's work.

Members of the New York Chapter of the N.E.F. offered me a warm hospitality in their homes. It was impossible to accept all invitations. Talking problems over together we

experienced that the strength of the N.E.F. always was and for ever will be in the fellowship between individuals carrying on its ideas and ideals. For this renewed experience I wish to thank those members directly; indirectly Dr. Carleton Washburne, and finally the N.E.F. itself which, just by being, offers these subtle experiences of personal human relationships, which — though unconsciously to a large extent — determine the development of new educational practices wherever we work.

Susan J. Freudenthal

Book Reviews

Summerhill — A Radical Approach to Education, A. S. Neill, — Victor Gollancz 25/—

JANKEL ADLER used to say that Picasso had knocked on the studio door of every painter of this century. A. S. Neill, it could be said, has knocked on the class-room door of every teacher. And the controversy round perverted shapes and weird canvases just about matches that round so-called free schools. The painter and the dominie are near enough of an age to warrant the idea that their respective rebellions are aspects of some single historical movement.

I take it that most of the readers of *The New Era* will know A. S. Neill's name and that of his school. If, gentle reader, this does not apply to you, and if you are at all serious in your attitude to the concerns of this journal, then do read this book now. There is no shorter road to the heart (I do not say 'solution') of the problems facing teachers and parents to-day, indeed facing all adults concerned with the younger generation, and especially those interested in progressive education.

Some readers there may be who know Neill's name, remember reading with enjoyment his *Dominie's Log*, and have a vague impression of hearing of a dreadful school that he started after World War I. They may connect his name with 'problem children' and 'problem parents'. If this shoe fits, and if you wish to bring yourself up to date, read this book. It is a summary of all Neill's writing about education.

And some readers there are (no doubt the great majority) who feel completely *au fait* with what Neill has written, who feel they know what he stands for, and who have their opinions about his opinions. They may even have had direct experience of his work. To these also I would say: Read this new book; it is still a challenge.

Does all this sound biased? If so, remember that no reviewer can avoid that wholly. However, since one of the functions of a review is to help readers to choose their reading, here are some impressions of this book from someone who has been inside the game (the work, the racket, what you please) for the past twenty years or so.

Every now and again, in our reading lives, we come on something so simple, so single-minded, so right for us, that we immediately feel a sympathy with the author. The fundamental warmth of the conviction in feeling and thought comes across to us. In the field of education, Sir Herbert Read writes about the place of art; Marjorie Houd and David Holbrook about what reading and writing can be for children; David Wills makes the case for delinquents on the strength of his perception of the delinquent in every one of us. . . . and time and again we feel a kind of certainty as they reach their conclusions. I suppose scientists engaged in research will get the same thrill in enchanting findings. Well, it seems to me that Neill in this book comes through repeatedly

with the same deep communicating conviction about children in general.

Wordsworth, reviewing his own life-work, said, 'I am a teacher, or I am nothing.' Strange as the association may seem, we could put these words in Neill's mouth with 'preacher' for 'teacher'. (No disrespect, Neill! We remember the adage: Scratch a Scot and you'll find a theologian.) The world is sick 'and only love can save the world.' p. 92.

That is the text, then, of this book. Facing the same problems as all the philosophers ever faced, this educationist comes up with the same answer as the Christian Church. The whole book makes explicit his understanding of the term 'love', as Neill sees it applied to children. Down from the clouds of dangerous sentimentality, he gets our feet on the ground, and says love is nothing more or less than freedom. 'New generations must be given the chance to grow in freedom. The bestowal of freedom is the bestowal of love.' And if anyone objects that this new name can itself be as vague or misleading, we have Neill's answer in the concrete history of forty years at Summerhill. And that comprises the first section of the book — a feature which alone would commend it. Theories untested are very easy to come by; Neill has lived with the application of his. With Arnold Wesker's hero in *I'm Talking of Jerusalem* he might claim: 'Remember, we're doing the living.'

How complete is the freedom? It is freedom — not licence. Who draws the line? The loving adult — and in time the child, maturing. Cynically, we might find here the loophole for any abuse of the term, and indeed this constitutes the challenge. Neill has undoubtedly experienced the literally wonderful growth, the increase in human stature that results for children when they live in a permissive non-authoritarian atmosphere. He is determined to tell us this in and out of season, and though one might accuse him of over-simplifying the issue, what cannot be doubted or denied is the central truth of his message — and this, conveyed with an earnest warmth and occasional humour, makes his book as readable a treatise on education as one could lift. The subtleties, the difficulties, the traps and pitfalls that wait on the

conscientious teacher or parent who would practise freedom for children — of these Neill must be aware.

He contends that children will grow into better humans without any adult guidance or suggestion whatever. How this is different from neglect is not specified beyond: 'freedom — not licence.' Good food, regular meals, sufficient sleep, proper clothing, — these the common sense of a good mature mother and father will ensure. (In a school like Neill's, incidentally, enjoyment of these by the children presumes a good deal of guidance by the adults.) How far the principle will apply to the provision of all the other necessities of life and growth is just the nice question Neill leaves to each person, parent or teacher.

I have no doubt the conscientious teacher will be aware of an inconsistency in the case Neill makes against more regularity in the schooling of a young child (as for instance in the case of learning to read.) But he has his answer — partly on the principle of freedom, partly on the overriding necessity for play. Not the play of the 'play-way'; nor yet the play of 'The Play's the Thing,' — just play; because childhood is playhood, and because mature human beings are those who have been allowed to play out all their childish interests. The logic is inescapable, and if your interest or sympathy lies this way at all, Neill has a noose round the neck of the truth, as far as you are concerned!

Neill is asking for nothing less than a new kind of human being. Freedom is the password the key, the method — from infancy when it is self-regulation, through school, where it is complete freedom of attendance at classes. The tremendous appeal of such a vision is what sets Neill apart from and ahead of us all. Somewhere the truth is with him; in some cruel way the final and complete application is beyond us whom his writing and work have inspired.

He would like to think and he would like us to think, that his theories more than his own presence and personality, his perseverance and devotion — to say nothing of the intensely personal effort of all those who have worked with him over any length of time — have made the school. It is not so. Dedicated, mature human

beings are necessary for the Summerhills, and these are rather thin upon the ground. This is the answer to the suggestion in the otherwise powerful foreword by Erich Fromm, viz. 'if it can happen once at Summerhill, it can happen everywhere.' Still, as Fromm says, it is a seed.

With lowered sights, and more realistic aims the rest of us might feel we would pick holes in Neill's scheme in practice. The ministry's inspection of his school in 1949 produced just such a document by way of a report — and this is given in the book, in full. It concludes by saying that at Summerhill a valuable piece of research was being conducted which it would do all educationists good to see. By the same token, I would say that here is a book it would do all educationists (that is professors, parsons and parents, teachers, club-leaders, probation officers, as well as administrators,) good to read.

John Aitkenhead, Kilquhanity House

Common Sense about Young Offenders

W. David Wills - Gollancz, 6s. 0d.

Paper-Back; 12s. 6d. Cloth Bound

AS ITS PUBLISHERS justly claim, *Common Sense about Young Offenders* approaches juvenile delinquency — a subject which arouses angry passions — in a scientific and yet human spirit, calmly and rationally?

'It explores the underlying origins of delinquency: unstable family life, aggravated by the weakening of the status of marriage; the decline of religious belief . . . the social revolution which is undermining the old class stratifications; the commercial exploitation of violence. It differentiates between types of delinquency: e.g. between children with deep-seated emotional troubles and those whose offences stem from irresponsibility and lack of firm standards. It outlines the existing system of dealing with young offenders (the juvenile courts, probation officers, child guidance clinics, the various types of corrective institutions), and discusses their weaknesses and anomalies, as well as their striking successes. Finally, it puts forward realistic proposals for developments in this field.'

From his previous books and from his life's work, Mr. Wills is acknowledged as the outstanding person of our age in his own field, that of planned environmental therapy. In this slim book he appears in a new role, that of the criminologist surveying the whole mass of data collected over the last half century. The mastery that he brings to this task should ensure his book a place on the shelves of every student in training for education or social work, for the book's value rests not only on its lucid and most readable presentation of the data, but also on its author's own important contribution to the subject.

With the naivety of genius Mr. Wills has kept strictly to his brief. He was asked to apply common sense to the problem of Young Offenders; he has done just that and has clarified two concepts: that of Young Offenders and that of Common Sense.

The manner in which he has tackled the problem of the Young Offender, the sheer brilliance with which he has organized the mass of data, reports, facts and theories, indicates that he is out to find the 'sense' of the material by using something like sane, rational thought — a quality or process which we are now apt, perhaps less accurately, to call intelligence. This sane, rational thought is used to find the common sense or common factor which underlies all our knowledge of delinquency.

A man capable of applying common sense so defined to any branch of knowledge is bound to make a contribution beyond its immediate field. Mr. Wills' book is important in this way; in particular it can serve as a model of how to present complicated controversial material to adult students.

As an example of the thoroughness with which he covers his subject here is a description of young delinquents; Mr. Wills considers each item in the list in some detail, not only with his own authority, but in relation to the published data:

Lacking in ability to face consequences of action;
Impulsive — driven by need for immediate satisfaction;
Unable to profit by experience;
Stubborn — not deflected from course by fear of
punishment;

Tending to infantile reactions — rages;

Inconsiderate and unfeeling;
 Aggressive;
 Egocentric — others are perceived only as suppliers
 of need;
 Unclubable — but can be a leader or lead in a
 primitive gang;
 Destructive of *his own* and others' property;
 Destructive of relationship;
 Not constant in friendships;

Retarded in schoolwork — changing jobs;
 Finding pleasure outside home rather than in it;
 Rarely having permanent interests.

In short, this is a valuable and important book.

Arthur T. Barron

Slums and Suburbs - James Conant, McGraw & Hill. 31/-, Paper-backed 15/-.

This volume, the latest in a series on current American educational problems by the President Emeritus of Harvard University, James Conant, is one of the most important which has reached the public in recent years. In its discussions of the inequalities in education caused by the rise of middle-class suburban areas and the decline of the large cities, it applies to all nations going through similar sociological restructuring. *Slums and Suburbs* calls attention to the fact that, in the rotting central areas of our American cities, vast numbers of deprived minority cultural and racial groups are rapidly falling behind in their educational and economic status. Noting that fifty to seventy-five per cent. of slum youths between sixteen and twenty-one years of age are out of school, he warns that 'social dynamite' is building up in these cities.

In suburban communities middle-class parents, through property taxes are often expending more than twice the amount of money per pupil that is spent in large cities. Given the already large disparity in educational opportunity between these two groups, one can rightfully gain the impression that America faces a social problem of vast dimensions.

A person with long, practical experience in education and in science (as a chemist), Mr. Conant asks us to face the realities of the situation. For the parents in the 'well-to-do-suburbs' he proposes that they guide their children toward colleges appropriate to their capacities. The entire suburban educational pattern is to gear itself to the production of excellence in education, from the specialized high schools (ages 14-18) catering for unique scientific and artistic abilities, to the graduate schools leading to doctorate degrees. In suburbs, highly selective guidance procedures, combined with rigorous standards at all levels of the educational ladder, will in theory effect the best of which America is

capable. For the American less well-endowed intellectually, the two-year junior college, as it is being utilized in California, would be the prototype of the goal of universal higher education.

The solution to the problem of the slum dweller is likewise practical and geared to the 'facts of life', grim as they may be. Increases in personnel — teachers, guidance counsellors, social workers, together with the closer correlation of school and community to enlist the interest of parents and neighbourhood, are assumed to offer educational hope for the under-privileged. But by far the greatest emphasis should be put on the expansion of programs of vocational education. Conant hopes in this way to bridge the gap between school and job, to minister realistically to the vocational needs and aspirations of these groups.

One can raise many questions about Dr. Conant's treatment of suburban educational ideals. There is a sense of finality in his goals which is intellectually and socially stultifying. The greatest questions, however, arise over his discussion of the educationally deprived. Since the public school movement in the United States began (in the 1830's and 1840's), epitomized in the life and writings of Horace Mann, public education has been regarded as a vehicle for social equality. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the primary goal has been to raise the material, social and intellectual status of the masses, the poor, with the purpose of achieving a democracy based upon a spirit of equality. Education, the cultivation of intelligence both in economic and socio-political endeavours, was to be the means for this national goal.

Dr. Conant's proposals seem to fall short of this ideal in his treatment of our new minorities. In equating education with vocational competence, he seems to be accepting the fact that our society is to be riven with inequality, a new inequality of the wealthy majority, and a poverty

stricken minority. To-day in a society moving rapidly towards automation, with what seems to be a permanent unemployment problem, to limit a man in his educational and social aspirations to vocations of bricklaying or carpentry is to freeze permanently the status of this marginal group. Automation will precipitously shrink the number of jobs for this class. Without general educational abilities, there can be only hopelessness.

The spirit of this educational treatise is rather new in America. It lacks the old social idealism which viewed education as leading us towards a society of enlightened citizens. It is symptomatic of the casual indifference of an affluent society, a symptom now more common in the western world. Hopefully, there are many other philosophical manifestations in American education (such as the Higher Horizons program in New York City) counterbalancing the dubious 'practicality' of Dr. Conant's reasoned arguments. In such dissenting voices, we can detect the older American idealism.

Virginia Rowley and
 Seymour Itzkoff,
 Hunter College, New York City

Man and his Music: The Story of Musical Experience in the West Harman and Mellers (Barrie & Rockcliffe 50s net).

With the exception of Anthony Milner's *Late Renaissance and Baroque Music* (c. 1525—c. 1750), most of this book was reviewed in *The New Era*¹ when published in separate volumes. 'Now' — to quote the dust cover — 'to serve an even wider audience, the entire work has been revised to make one single volume with nothing sacrificed or omitted and with the addition of valuable new features.' The result is an impressive work, covering as it does music from mediaeval times to most of contemporary music, and

¹ NEW ERA Vol. 39, No. 1 Jan. 1958.
 NEW ERA Vol. 39, No. 7 July/Aug. 1958.

with a valuable list of gramophone records stretching from Ambrosian chant to Shostakovich's fifth symphony and a selection of works by Edgar Varèse.

The book is aimed primarily at fifth and sixth formers and university students and, if it truly reflects the interests of the musical young to-day, great changes have taken place during the past thirty years both in historical knowledge and, particularly, in active interest in the music of the past. No doubt the Third Programme and recorded music have played an enormous part in this development, as also has much contemporary music with its many links with the past. Compared with the pre-war years, young people now have many opportunities to hear and study, for example, mediaeval and baroque music. But listening to such music requires from us an active imagination if we are to feel into, and hear in it something approaching that heard by a composer's contemporaries. For 'the idea of sitting solemnly in rows and listening to music "for its own sake" would have seemed absurd to Byrd or Palestrina. Either one made music oneself or one listened to it as a homage to God.'² Or as old Roger North says in *The Muscull Grammarian*³ 'Musick can not be understood by any other means, then a free and willing as well as skilfull performance and that not by snapps and essays,

but by a full and sufficient Auricular examination; for it is very probable that an antiquated manner may not be taking at first, and then to cry foh! how dull is this? and strait throw up, this is not the way of study so as to arrive at the knowledge of anything; the same quarrells against all arts and languages, for is not our mother tongue, and every days business, much easier & pleasanter?'

The two authors ('with Anthony Milner') are concerned not only with music as such but equally with its relation to western civilization, its spiritual, intellectual and social manifestations. So that one sees, for example, some of the links between Byrd and El Greco and eighteenth century music and thought. But Mellers, it seems to me, is more successful than the other authors in describing the 'stream' of European music and relating this to the social climate that helped to produce it, for he deals with history, the arts and with the interaction between the past and present in such a manner as to illuminate our understanding of the ways in which composers of different periods and lands went to work and how they were influenced by the 'climate' of their time. In his new chapter 'Europe To-day Mellers discusses such diverse composers as Messiaen and Dallapiccola and our own Tippett and Britten with the same insight and response that he gives to composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And in this particular chap-

ter he also calls attention to the way in which 'the composer's approach to his art has been affected, over the past fifty or more years, by the disintegration of tradition', and how the American composer 'started from such disintegration, for he had no cultural tradition to lose. He had nothing but the rags and bones of European culture that, imported to a new environment, soon lost their savour.' Mellers, I think feels hopeful about music's development in the United States, and in Latin America particularly, and he ends his book thus:— 'Cultural barriers, at least, are no longer unbridgeable, whatever may be true of political barriers; and a Peruvian serialist is no longer an anachronism' — a statement to which many readers of *The New Era* will respond even though they may translate it into other terms.

What then has this enormous book to offer, say, the third year university or training college student? A history of music from the beginnings of the Christian era down to the composers of 1962, presented in such a way as to show music as an integral part of human activity; the many ways in which music influenced the other arts; and how they too influenced the development of music in their turn. It is a book too, that should stimulate young readers by catching their imagination, and cause them to wonder anew at the marvellous thing music is and the profound influence it has asserted over the minds and lives of man.

Edgar Myers

² Wilfred Mellers *MUSIC & SOCIETY* (p. 137).

³ Quoted by Mellers in above book.

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THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

The Education of Teachers and East-West Understanding

FOREWORD

Herbert Abraham, Chief of Division of Human Rights and International Understanding, Unesco

I have brought with me no prepared oration, because I thought it would be more useful if we could meditate together on the very purposes of Unesco in its major project on East-West understanding with which you are concerned during this meeting. Continually since it started, people have been asking Unesco for aid in developing their own educational systems. And indeed to give this help is one of its principal functions, and enables its member states to express solidarity in a pooling of international effort. But Unesco is also an instrument for expressing ideals of human behaviour towards which we are all trying to move, and only so does it make much sense.

It has had a certain aim throughout its lifetime. This aim we pursue in many ways, and we have to place before each General Conference a draft programme and budget and make clear in short concise statements what we propose to do during the next span of activity. Each time some people say: 'Your programme is too diffuse.' From time to time we make a valiant effort to consolidate and focus our efforts. The very nature of education, science and culture is anarchic — but from among these wide and growing fields we can set ourselves more limited goals.

A few years ago Unesco decided that we ought to focus part of our work on promoting a better understanding between peoples brought up in Asian and western countries. As more and more peoples come into Unesco, their need for economic and technical help is more closely pressed upon us, and yet alongside these needs one can see also an over-riding need to be understood. The former colonial territories need to re-learn western culture in a new context — the context of equality; in this same context the former colonial powers certainly need to gain a more sensitive and deeper understanding of their Asian partners. This project is carried out in various ways: for example by

arranging meetings between philosophers and historians, philologists and students of social science, and by helping to set up Institutes in Japan, New Delhi and Beirut for Asian studies.

In our work with schools we have done our best to ensure better teaching and better learning about the west in Asia and about Asia in the west. We have tried to develop the work started in 1947, that of the study of the content of text books and their improvement. Your chairman at this meeting, Professor Lauwerys, has played a central part in promoting these studies from the time of the first meeting on the subject in Brussels in 1950. Once we managed to get scholars and teachers in the picture together to study the improvement of text books from the point of view of international understanding, it has been fairly easy to maintain interest in western Europe. We are trying now to extend this interest to cover both Europe and Asia.

Throughout our work on this project we have discovered ignorance and neglect, even if not open bias. We discover in the west a tendency to regard the peoples of Asia as minor figures in the western drama. We have tried to study the treatment of the west in the text books of Asian countries, but this is more difficult because many such books have either been compiled by westerners or have been based on western text books. Certainly five years ago they did not give at all the viewpoint of the eastern countries themselves. And indeed, the need to produce text books in these countries in their own languages in all subjects is so acute that to them the question of how the west is treated in their books is inevitably peripheral, even where its importance is recognized.

Indeed for practically everybody the question of East-West understanding is marginal to the immense jobs that are facing them in their day-to-day activity. I expect that even members of *this* meeting feel it to be marginal; yet I

do not think you would be here if you did not also recognize it as basically important.

Unesco has run into serious material problems in promoting East-West understanding. It is easy and cheap to bring near neighbours together in either east or west to study educational problems, but it is very costly to do this over very long distances. We are holding a meeting in Brunswick shortly, to see whether there is any line we can take that would be practical and useful during the next three or four years.

We have also tried to inject the East-West Project into Secondary Schools. Some years ago we wrote to all the National Commissions asking whether they knew of any schools in their own countries which would like to undertake experiments in education for international understanding. We promised to try to help such schools with materials, and exchange of ideas. The first response from the National Commissions was slender, but we launched what is known as the Associated Schools Project in thirty schools in seven or eight countries. Later there has been an upsurge of interest in the Ministries of Education, and the number of countries taking part in the scheme has risen to forty-five. We wrote to them all saying: 'As part of the Associated Schools Project we hope you will all stress East-West understanding.' Schools have responded in various ways — by extra-curricular activities, and by exchanges of letters. Some of them have produced really imaginative studies in depth through their ordinary social studies courses and their literature, history and geography lessons. We are hoping to publish next year a book on occident and

orient as studied through the schools. We have also organized seminars and given study grants to teachers, who will go back to their schools better informed and better enthused to carry on the work. We have steered what funds were available into this project.

This brings me to this particular meeting. Unesco itself is limited in its ways of working. We cannot write text-books, or institute examinations. We must assist other people to do what they want to do in these fields and perhaps to do it a bit the better for our help and interest. Usually we work through official national bodies.

But we also work through international Non-Governmental Organizations, and especially with those organizations of teachers who are concerned expressly with the improvement of education. The New Education Fellowship is one of the oldest and best established of such organizations, and can arrange a free and informal exploration of ideas that may help to fertilize our work.

Finally, Unesco feels that more should be done to link with this Major Project institutions that educate teachers. Indeed, the education of teachers is seen as the key question in all plans looking to the expansion and improvement of education, so that it may not only contribute to economic and social development but also to harmonious and peaceful relations among peoples. It is with this in mind that we are grateful to the New Education Fellowship for arranging this international meeting and to you for consecrating to it these next few days.

Surveying our Task

S. Shukla

After hearing Dr. Abraham's opening talk, the whole conference pulled its chairs and tables into a circle and spent the first two sessions in discussing what aspects of its wide field were most within its competence, and how these should be divided up for intensive discussion in smaller groups. From the beginning the talk was lively, general and friendly, and differences of viewpoint were freely expressed.

In trying to define its task, the meeting considered, broadly speaking, two approaches. One view was that we should exchange and work out concrete measures and plans of action to be implemented in teacher training programmes, listing courses, texts and other teaching materials, and recommending specific practices which we as a conference considered apt to promote international understanding. As cogently, others argued that these things were being looked after elsewhere, and that it was of greater importance for this meeting to consider the broad frame-work of teacher-education, the basic orientation and structure of its programmes, in order to discover what changes were necessary if the stage were to be set for the promotion of international understanding.

People who urged this second point of view sought in fact to explore ways of providing a broader education for teachers, more liberal, less heavily loaded with prescribed work than can be found anywhere in the world at present. They felt that such provision is an essential basis for developing attitudes of understanding. Those who urged the other view appeared either to take a liberalized training for granted, or else to feel that the N.E.F.'s contract with Unesco obliged us to put forward orderly and fairly concrete proposals from the meeting.

One member recalled that many of the attitudes of understanding and tolerance he had acquired came not from his formal schooling, nor from his early family training but from having taught abroad and lived next door to an Indian family who were also foreigners there. The desire to understand, an attitude of understanding, were underlined as important, — more so, some thought, than knowledge even.

This was opposed by those who felt that the provision of adequate information and knowledge was the necessary and perhaps even sufficient means towards understanding. Behind

such diverse opinions there lay, no doubt, not only individual points of view but also very real differences of background, as regards the social climate of their own teacher education institution and details of its curriculum and organization. Participants, even from the same country, differed very greatly from each other, presumably as a result of the operation of these same factors.

The value of establishing special courses designed to promote international understanding, or of the co-curricular activities promoted by such bodies as the Associated Schools Project, were also viewed from these differing points of view. At least one member doubted whether any of these approaches could lead to any substantial increase in understanding, and urged some international experience of working together on a common project, as is done in the international work camps. This was seen to be difficult on account of the cost of travel, particularly if East-West exchange was intended; but some were strongly convinced of its very real value. Indeed one member felt that such measures were indispensable.

Next, we asked ourselves whether the East-West dichotomy was real: was it helpful as a starting-point of understanding? What genuine criteria, other than geography, enable us to define a people or nation as belonging to East or West? The East differed within itself very considerably, and so did the West. There exist intractable or near-intractable problems, and also ignorance and unhelpful stereotypes, among near neighbours both in the East and in the West.

Understanding: Efforts to promote understanding were often hampered because peculiar rather than typical images of various countries are at large. In particular the East comes in for this kind of treatment. Efforts to arouse sympathy, even pity, by presenting pictures of its poverty and helplessness do not promote understanding, but only a patronizing attitude — which in its turn causes resentment. The image of a materialist West and a spiritual East was misleading too. This indeed raised a whole discussion on what is meant by understanding.

What kind of approach or behaviour characterizes a person who does understand? We

found this question both challenging and hard to answer. Do we say a man is free from prejudice only when he shares, or at least understands, *our* prejudices? or that a man understands me when he is prepared for the kind of person I am, and does not feel too disturbed about me or my compatriots? or when he thinks me and my country capable of making good — whatever that may mean? or when he has ceased thinking about the country of origin of any man and just deals with him as a man? Some people felt that the Danes, as a people, were extremely friendly and understanding. Why, and in what manner? The Danish participant felt that, perhaps because they were a small country, they always tended to side with the weak and back the unfortunate.

To others, these considerations were a necessary but not a sufficient condition for understanding. A characteristic expression of understanding was the ability to differ, even strongly, without rancour; and this arises perhaps from knowing the other person, and even perhaps something of his past, which may explain why he is now what he is. Is *no* information a better basis for understanding than misinformation? The importance of information suited to the age and level of development of the student concerned was recognized as crucial.

Foundation fields: * In the teaching of philosophy, sociology and psychology the general treatment by Harold Rugg in his *Foundations of American Education* might be found useful, if a more internationally orientated course were to be designed.

Again, a study of adolescence in many cultures is of importance. For here, the differences between the cultures are extreme; and these differences are productive of attitudes and prejudices of a rather strong kind. For instance, Eastern adolescents can hardly help presuming immorality in the West because the relations between boys and girls in their own cultures are much the more puritanical. Adolescence is also of importance because it is closer to the age of the student-teachers themselves, and its study

may induce understanding of others and of themselves. This could contribute both to a better adjustment to the life and work of a teacher, and also to enriching and rectifying what they communicate to their pupils about other peoples.

Religion: The teaching of religion, where it is taught, bears on the question of understanding. There is indeed a question as to whether different ethics derive from different religions. Ethical problems can perhaps be resolved, a kind of synthesis made, on rational (or other) bases. This is not true of dogma. Some very false and damaging stereotypes have been put abroad about other people's religious practices. It is easy to label as idol-worship a rite or a symbol that one does not understand or share. The difficulties in the way of formulating a common religion acceptable to all mankind are obvious. But the least we can ask is that stereotypes unhelpful to understanding should be resolved by more accurate information and closer study.

Editorial Note: Dr. Shukla made this *précis* from his and my notes on the first two or three plenary sessions — as a necessary introduction to the Group Reports which follow.

These Reports were given in plenary session on the last day of the conference. The first, *Method and Content of Teacher Education*, was prepared by about half the conference working in three sub-groups, discussing:

- (I) How Should Future Teachers Study?
- (II) What Should Future Teachers Study in the Foundation Fields?
- (III) The Contribution of Psychology to Teacher Education.

The second report deals with what *Special Courses on East-West Understanding* could usefully be introduced into training institutes, and how these could eventually enhance understanding through the ordinary subjects taught in every school.

The third Report discusses *How the Job is being Tackled, and by Whom, outside the Curriculum*.

Wit, good feeling, and brilliant illustrations are always the things that a good *précis* writer and a good rapporteur have to cut severely. They were a highly enjoyable part of this conference and are reflected a little in some of the post-conference letters which follow Professor Lauwerys' *Chairman's Summing Up*. P.V.

* In all colleges which prepare intending teachers for their profession there are courses in which a theory of education is propounded. This course may be called Philosophy of Education; Principles of Education; History of Education; Foundations of Education, etc. The question arises: what can be done within the content of courses of this sort to increase mutual East-West appreciation? We have called them throughout this Report 'foundation fields' for short.

Method and Content of Teacher Education

We divided ourselves into three sub-groups. The first was concerned with the general approach to teacher education and its organization; the second dealt mainly with the teaching of the foundation fields, except psychology; and the third dealt with psychology and child study. We had hoped at some stage to bring together the work of the last two sub-groups but I do not think we ever quite managed this, though the whole group did meet twice during these last three days, to exchange progress and learn from each other.

Of course we were conscious of the wide variety of institutions and age-groups and length of teacher education programmes in various countries, and we were quite conscious that whatever we said would need to be adapted to different situations and might not apply at all in some, and that each one of us always spoke from his or her own experience. We also took into account the experiences of those in other groups which we had heard in plenary meetings.

All three sub-groups had at least two members from the Commonwealth, East and West, and at least one from the Continent of Europe,

so that perhaps the discussion is somewhat representative of the situation in these areas.

The whole group started with the question: what kind of teacher do we want to produce? — though fear was expressed that perhaps we were aiming to describe a set, standardized personality — *the* ideal teacher. Well, the group did not think that that was what we were looking for. We were looking for a secure, dynamic personality, one that is growing and is wanting and prepared to grow, highly individualized. Each such teacher has his own specific, distinctive characteristics, many perhaps quite different from those of any other member of his staff, and so may perhaps prove adaptable and tolerant of other personalities. So far as possible he should be in possession of some experience and appreciation of a different culture or people, their ways of living and thinking and the kinds of things they desire, that is to say, their values. This is the general description of the teacher we hoped any educational institute would aim to turn out. If they can do this, the teachers they send out will be capable of attitudes of international understanding and of appreciation of cultures and values.

S.S.

How Should Future Teachers Study?

Rapporteur: S Shukla

We began by considering the general social climate of an institution which might educate the kind of teacher we had in mind, and here we laid considerable stress on freedom and leisure. We warned each other that leisure would not always be used in appreciating and enjoying arts other than one's own, or for that matter in quietly participating in discussion, listening to a play or looking at a beautiful scene. But all the same, we felt that, in order to promote the growth of a relaxed personality and to release those tensions which do get built up for one reason or another, this leisure and this freedom is indispensable. Even if it is used for earning a little extra money, or for the kinds of recreation or leisure activities which are not directly conducive to the achievement of our purposes, we should provide as much of it as possible and let the student-teacher feel he is wanted

and welcome, not despised or suspect just because his use of leisure and freedom does not conform to our ideas.

Other questions of detail arose, for instance, how a tutor should address a student. We found that in certain circumstances, to call a student Mr. (or address him with the more polite or respectful '*Aap* or *vous*' wherever such distinctions exist,) helps him to feel that he is respected as an equal. Sometimes, the use of first names, or the intimate form of address, helps the student to feel accepted. But whatever the means devised, and these are just examples in one very superficial aspect of the relationship, the individuality and dignity of the student-teacher should be consciously promoted. He should be helped to feel he is already a member of a profession and a professional colleague of the teachers with whom he is working.

This also raised the question (to which we were inclined to give a permissive answer): What kind of cultural milieu shall we have? The choice and freedom we were advocating may well bring in certain expressions of folk-culture or even a not very dignified mass culture. How shall we behave if the students' freedom leads often in directions which we do not consider to be desirable? We could only assert that an *enriched environment*, in which there was great variety and choice, will in the end assist the student to find his own best cultural adjustment and to develop this kind of personality we are looking for.

Though we may appear to have strayed some distance from our objective, international understanding, we were rather definite that a relaxed and secure individual who is capable of coping with new ways of living with other people, and of communicating good feeling through living, as well as in his teaching, will grow best in this kind of atmosphere and contribute most, through his future work as a teacher, to international understanding.

There are many varieties of constraint which militate against developing a desirable atmosphere. In some countries for example, relationships between the sexes are not free and open and equal. There is much unnatural segregation and some such manifestations are to be found in very many countries. In the context of the life that all teachers have to live in the modern world, more relaxed, normal open relationships between the sexes should be built up and promoted, and this in itself would lead to a less tense and a more secure individual.

What kind of academic orientation should the teacher education institution have? We first considered the university as the representative, indeed the highest, institution for the higher learning. Here we found characteristics such as leisure for the student to pursue his ideas and interests; exposure to great ideas, and the study of ideas in depth and in all their ramifications across national, racial or disciplinary boundaries. These are factors which tend to promote individuality, helping a student to develop more fully, more freely and, by and large, therefore, more richly than other institutions do. This was contrasted with the relatively more vocational craft-oriented atmosphere that pervades the teacher-training institutions in many countries.

But then we realized that the university also can sometimes be a highly specialized and nar-

rowing institution and that perhaps teacher education institutions and certain other institutions have their own special merits. In some cases, though not in all, they bring about integration of various subject fields. (It was realized though, that integration of various subject fields is not inconsistent with study of great ideas in depth, such as the universities are expected to conduct).

What we thought should be achieved in teacher education institutions is a combination of the best of both these kinds of situations, namely leisure, study of special interests, including study of great ideas in depth, on the one hand, and integration of subject fields on the other. One interesting experiment was reported from a teacher training institution in Denmark. A single topic, the Welfare State for example, was studied with the assistance of the historian, the economist, and the sociologist on the college staff working together. * Or, certain excerpts from the history of education, (writings of great educators, Rousseau for instance) were presented to the students, the staff co-operating in putting forward their different views of what kinds of changes in ideas, social structure and political climate these writings represented.

These were examples of inter-disciplinary studies which we thought might lead to an appreciation of the very wide varieties of culture and social arrangements. Through such studies students can become aware of the fact that there are very many ways of thinking and behaving (each configuration specific to any culture organically related within itself, however odd any particular part of it may look to people outside it) and that one can bring many kinds of thinking and intellectual work to bear upon problems that will face the young teacher when he comes out.

The idea of freedom is also of importance in terms of the actual organization of academic work. Individual students should perhaps be enabled to reach international understanding through very different media. We did not consider the fine arts, perhaps we were too narrowly composed in this respect, and in any case Group III would be discussing this contribution. But we did think that some people would like to pursue understanding through economics, others through history, others might choose comparative education, or others again, child

* Here, the Indian joint family was seen as performing some of the functions which social insurance does in modern western societies.

development. Special optional subjects, such as curriculum reform or audio-visual education also have their place, as have the 'foundation fields' and the more established academic disciplines. Any or all of these can and should be made an instrument or a means of developing international understanding and the attitudes conducive to international understanding.

We next considered the methods of work in teacher education institutions, mainly the methods of teaching. One of the things we want to emphasize, and this has been clearly seen at this conference, is symbolised by seating arrangements. There is a great difference in the degree of understanding established if a group sits as we are doing at present, round a table, all participants facing each other, and if they sit as we did at the first meeting, all facing in the same direction, that of the lecturer.

We visualize therefore a process in which all participants in a class are participants in the work of a group. They acquire thereby more individual dignity and an equal status within the group and are able to communicate with each other, making teaching not a bi-polar process as between the educator and the educand, but one of shared learning. The discarding of the traditional seating arrangement is perhaps a minor physical detail, but there are many such details in the arrangement of space and work and time-schedules in the teacher education institution which call for modification if we are to create the kind of permissive atmosphere which we consider essential.

The attitudes of teachers are likely to be very infectious and the manner in which a teacher communicates his own personal involvement in the learning situation is closely connected with the attitudes and understandings that he communicates. For example, if he is hoping to promote toleration of very different ways of life, he should perhaps himself submit to situations in which he comes from initial dislike, or at least shock of unfamiliarity, to an understanding and even appreciation of a very different way of life. If such personal experiences were put more and more into the teaching during the education of teachers, more particularly where the specific objective is to communicate things like the appreciation of differences and the understanding of different ways of life and culture, then we felt it would make greater impact.

Enjoyment of life, and enjoyment of the things that students are doing are also impor-

tant means of bringing about more and more real involvement of the student community in their own education. This we considered in more detail than might appear justified at first sight. Some students do not get involved in what you (or for that matter they) are doing at all. How will they, how can they, become involved? Has the whole life of the institution to be made more pleasurable, providing perhaps at first mainly pleasure and fun, in order to involve the student in the life which you offer him? And if we arrange things in this way, shan't we have made the best possible start in introducing to students the habit of understanding other ways of life, and of being tolerant? These desirable attitudes will then possibly be taken in or developed a great deal more than if we try to instil them without ensuring this initial involvement through enjoyment, which may well take the form of all manner of indigenous and local and even exotic forms of pleasurable activity.

The actual formal teaching itself, discussions and individual work by a student, and their use later perhaps as a basis for group discussion and group work, will draw out more of what the student himself wants to do, and it will be much easier in that context to communicate attitudes of international understanding.

Then there is the teacher educator himself. We thought him to be the key to our problem. It is highly important to develop the competence and the ability of the staff of any teacher training institution in the direction of permissive leadership and of international understanding. The first is a function of formal and informal educational experiences of the teacher educator himself; the second is partly of course a function of foreign travel, fellowships and so on. But it could very often be attained to a much greater extent than it is at present by taking advantage of the presence of the many foreign persons present in each country. Meeting them, talking to them, and learning from them would in itself make the staff a great deal more internationally minded and a great deal more capable of communicating understanding. Similarly, each member of the staff should have more opportunities of the kind we experienced last night, when after eating together at one large table, we listened to each other singing songs and reciting verse from our own countries. Special interests or ability in the arts or elocution or hiking or

whatever it is, should be contributed by the staff in organizing the teacher education programme. These will bring in too the games, art and life of other peoples. They would also enable us to make what we would call a non-intellectual, a non-rational approach to the student, — drawing him out on other planes than the purely cognitive and making him now, or potentially, a more understanding person. Of course, there should be leisure for the staff to grow and develop just as we have said that the students should have leisure to grow in themselves.

Finally, we considered the place of the teacher education institution in the community. One or two points came up, one in consequence of our discussions on the teachers of teachers. We felt that perhaps Ministries of Education or some other organizations will soon start trying to interest more and more training colleges in international understanding or other such matters. And they will, therefore, take the lead and initiative in developing programmes, in communicating ideas, in orienting attitudes. As the State or some other external agency comes in, however benevolently, to give guidance to any institution of higher learning, telling it what it must do, or even recommending what it *should* do, educational institutions will tend to fall below that autonomous status which, for instance, the universities insist is theirs. But the status of the teacher education institution has in fact to rise in the hierarchy of social institutions and within the group of institutions of professional education and higher learning. They must therefore become more, not less, responsible than they are to-

day for planning the direction of their work. This we did not see either as an insuperable problem or as a purely academic or theoretical one. But it has to be taken into account. This means that the teacher education institution has to make great efforts to reorient itself and initiate more and more of this kind of work. In the long run it will prove the more able to do this work if it does it of its own initiative and not under pressure from outside.

Another matter that attracted our attention was the relationship between the atmosphere of freedom we call for in the education of teachers, and the culture or attitudes of the societies which they will serve. Teacher education institutions are not hot-houses where experiments are carried on in isolation. They work in the wider context of a community and here we have to take into account the mass media, the prejudices and attitudes prevalent in a community. The permissive institution could, in certain circumstances, become subservient to external influence. Perhaps the teacher education institution should itself take part in orienting the community towards attitudes of understanding, thereby making the entire climate a bit more favourable towards teacher training for international understanding. We had of course our own doubts and misgivings about how far this was possible in the specific circumstances of each community and institution. We did see however, that this was a task to which teacher education institutions will have to address themselves in the long run, if they really want to prepare teachers capable of developing international understanding and appreciation of other cultural values in their pupils.

What should Future Teachers Study in the Foundation Fields?

Rapporteurs: W. A. F. Hopper and C. W. Robert

This group was given the task of considering what could be done in the foundation fields of philosophy, history and sociology to further East-West understanding through the training of teachers. We felt obliged first to examine the place of these studies in the sphere of teacher training.

We began with the idea that a good general education is the best preparation for understanding. We asked whether universities provide the most liberal training and should serve as our models? Is the education of teachers now

apart and inferior? We felt that, whereas the universities tend to excessive specialization, teachers in training are isolated from other professions. Both seem to need renewal.

In discussing education courses, we seemed to find that in Asia, emphasis was laid on the study of philosophic principles and that in England, the central place is now given to child study. The pros and cons of each emphasis became chiefly a discussion between Indians and English, but there was a general feeling that sociology must also come in. Countries

in a state of rapid social change or uncertainty must give special attention to what society needs of its schools. Mr. Ussher's claim that understanding results from the attitude of taking a man for what he is and not just taking note of his racial or national origin was considered at length at various points in the discussions. The emphasis of the British on child study led to a discussion on how understanding of children in more than one society can be developed among students. Would teaching materials like films help? Would studies like those of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, showing psychological phenomena in relation to culture, develop understanding? Would an emphasis on essential sameness or similarity, or on culturally related differences, better serve the purposes of understanding? Are the two capable of being reconciled? What would be the implication of such an approach to the devising of psychology programmes in training institutions?

We asked ourselves whether the study of philosophy was really useful to training college students. We could see that it would help to deepen understanding and develop the critical faculty in the most intelligent or thoughtful; but most of us felt that as an academic study it was beyond the capacity of the great majority, who could not sufficiently clearly relate it to their work as teachers. It seemed to us more profitable to introduce the thinking of philosophers through seminars and discussion groups on specific educational topics, such as freedom and authority or the relative importance of liberal and technical education. This would require a radical change from the bookish and summarised way of teaching philosophy still current in many places, into one which might enrich experience, foster humility, and broaden understanding of the worth and dignity, of a man and his relationship with his fellows.

One particular issue arose. Where educational philosophy is included in Asian curricula, it is always assumed that it will include some western philosophers. We felt it was high time that teachers in the west recognized how much their students could be helped to view their own problems if they were enabled to do so in the light of eastern philosophy, especially that of Mahatma Gandhi.

The study of history of education, like that of philosophy, can be tedious and unfruitful to the majority of students, if it is a compila-

tion of arid facts about great educators, or if it is a parochial record of the growth of schools in recent times in one country. Instead of this, we would prefer a correlation of the study of certain societies and the kind of education they evolved. This might be as lifeless as the other syllabus if presented simply through formal instruction, but where it is actively treated through a combination of lectures, seminars, panel discussions, assignments and library work, it can be of personal enrichment to the student and can help him to view his school practice in a context of broader understanding. It should lead him to ask questions for himself.

The aim of this kind of course should not be to cover a vast amount of historical material but, through careful selection of historical topics which throw light on present educational tasks and problems, to give the student some stimulus to depth of thought about his own role in relation to that of teachers in other times and places.

We were fortunate to have placed before us one example of history of education taught in this way to post-graduate students in Madras, and we felt that under skilled teachers it could be suitably modified for non-graduate students. This course included examples as varied as primitive tribal education; classical Chinese education with its emphasis on Confucian texts, rote memory and examinations, as a system for the training of an elite; and child-centred education based on ideas from Rousseau, Dewey, Gandhi.

This approach to the history of education would not leave it as an artificially separate study, but would relate it closely to the allied sciences of philosophy, psychology and sociology. In all these fields, current theories are the easiest things to teach, but must be supported by practical knowledge.

In sociology, a comparatively new field in educational study, we should raise such questions as 'What are schools for? What demands does society make on the child? How far should the school prepare him to resist or to conform?' Lively discussion of social behaviour in different cultural settings, in family, school, religious or industrial organizations, nations and international groups is of enormous importance, but much work has yet to be done to put the fruits of research in these fields into easily accessible and teachable form.

In rapidly changing societies, sociological

study in the training colleges may prove a useful tool for preparing people's minds to work in a new structure without rejecting all that has been achieved in the past or obstructing change in the name of tradition. For example, Asia may learn from the west about its achievements and mistakes in industrialisation. European peoples are beginning to realise more than ever before that they can profitably learn from the east in such matters as the care of the old, stability in marriage and a serene attitude towards life.

We felt that if, in our teacher education, we can help our students to achieve a truer under-

standing of and respect for individual human personality and of the interaction and interdependence of social groups, this will give them the principles of education that they need. If, further, this is done through drawing on the wisdom of both east and west, we shall be making a positive contribution to worldwide tolerance and understanding.

By being given more leisure to think and learn for themselves, more understanding of themselves and of the interplay of social groups, we can hope that our students will be better enabled to see differences of culture as delightful variety and not as divisive or irreconcilable.

The Contribution of Psychology to Teacher Education

Rapporteur : Joan Cass, with a Commentary by E. M. Langdon

Members discussing this subject put forward the claim that psychology could have more far reaching influence than any other discipline included in the student's course of professional training, but the Conference as a whole rejected this prior claim. It was clear, however, that psychology could and should be a significant factor in the training of teachers. By its very nature it is concerned with the study of human behaviour and thus, it was agreed, a wisely constructed scheme of work would in itself provide some common ground for examining human problems in both East and West — but much depended on the nature of the course which was provided.

Members of the group went on to affirm certain basic needs in all individual persons: the need to give and receive love, the need to be accepted and 'belong' within a group, and the need for opportunities to achieve and to create. These essential elements for harmonious development were conceived as common to all human persons, and in themselves constituted a bond of unity linking all mankind.

Nevertheless, it was recognized that such basic needs must be set in a context of the particular society to which a child or adult belongs. Tradition, patterns of culture and physical conditions would vary from one country to another, yet there seemed no basis for believing that different human groups would show innate differences in their potential capacity for full development, or in their primary needs.

Yet, at the same time, close study was required of actual conditions in varying situations. If the imprint of culture and environment was to be understood as a powerful influence in the formative years of childhood and early adolescence, more work was needed in some as yet unexplored fields.

The group went on to examine in more detail the content and aims of the psychology provided in the teacher's professional training. Emphasis was laid once again on the overall effect such a course could have, given certain circumstances. For instance, students could gain some insight into ways in which prejudices arise, in relation both to the conscious and unconscious forces in the life of the individual, provided their course included some study of the dynamics of behaviour in very young children. Also the students could themselves become more aware of problems of growth and adjustment by recall of their own early childhood experiences, in so far as this was available to each individual. Some degree of personal re-orientation in patterns of thought and feeling could be expected if conditions of life and work in the college made this possible. More 'open' attitudes to human relationships and extended groups required opportunities for actual experience: knowledge alone would not bring about such changes. In particular, a course of study limited to narrow methods of work and formal academic content would have very limited value in relation to changes in attitude

and enrichment of the personalities of students.

A comprehensive course of study was envisaged, with the study of Child Development as the central discipline, covering broad patterns of all-round growth in certain stages from birth to maturity. At the same time, it was suggested that the history, philosophy and sociology of education should be closely linked with the core syllabus in psychology. The following aspects of the course were stressed: —

- the importance of direct observation of children under conditions as informal as possible, together with group discussions based on this actual material;

- more sustained and guided studies of individual children, in order to reveal the detailed pattern of each child's behaviour;

- a close link between experiences provided during teaching practice and the theoretical basis of the psychology course. The value of discussion was stressed once again;

- reading, and the use of selected textbooks, varying, perhaps from one country to another;

- some knowledge of relevant research in the field of child psychology. It was hoped that the work of experts from both the East and the West would be available;

- the value of a wide selection of films to illustrate certain aspects of the course.

Commentary: As each reader allows his mind and imagination to dwell on this theme of the relationship between the student's course in psychology and the hoped-for lines of communication to and from East and West, many different situations will be recalled. Training Colleges differ from one place to another, even within the same country; students may be young recruits to the teaching profession, older people taking a shortened or a refresher course, or post-graduates from many subject fields with very varying training in independent thought and feeling. The lectures in psychology will present in themselves immense variety of ability and insight, just as the institutions they serve will differ in quite fundamental ways.

Clearly, no general prescription can serve such a range of circumstances and human potential. Yet it seems important to attempt some selection of essential elements if psychology is to be an effective avenue of learning for

the students, rather than an affair of soaking up words, inert ideas or disassociated precepts. Perhaps the first need, then, is to re-examine the purpose of teaching psychology in a training college at all. This calls for clear vision if the autonomy of the professional course is to be safeguarded while, at the same time, close links with universities are explored. Surely the reason for the inclusion of psychology in the course of professional training is to serve the student's own growth and development as a teacher; to help him to begin the process of becoming a lifelong student who will continue to explore and discover more about children and teaching all his life. This quickening process calls for many subjects, many kinds of approach and many levels of learning. In essence, it is a process of learning the art of communication: with the children and their parents, with colleagues in the profession, and with writers of the past or present whose experience and expert knowledge have relevance for the student.

The study of psychology has its own disciplines. The teacher needs a secure theoretical background: a frame of reference which will enable him to understand the broad pattern of development — the slow process of growth towards maturity, together with an awareness of the variation of this pattern in each unique individual, each separate child. Without some insight into the genetic pattern of development it is impossible to build a valid picture of the later stages, or to avoid facile and inaccurate generalizations about young children, or the 'young' parts of older individuals.

It is equally necessary to avoid an over-maternal attitude towards the growing child and so fail to recognize and meet his expanding needs. This in turn, calls for careful study of the years of middle childhood and adolescence. Two practical dangers emerge at this point. First comes the danger of overloading the course in psychology in an attempt to cover the field in any comprehensive sense — or the equally real hazard of over-stressing one aspect of the whole story. Those who plan the courses are faced with the necessity of selection and emphasis — according to the special needs of their particular groups of students.

Another danger lies in too limited a view of psychology, which results in the narrowing down of both content in teaching and of the possible exploration in learning.

If the human person is to be the subject of study, sole preoccupation with mental growth will prove inadequate. More dynamic approaches to psychology will take account of the emotional life of the child, the unconscious forces within the psyche together with their particular modes of expression, of the gradual structuring of the idea of 'self' within the individual, and so on. Martin Buber speaks of the child 'learning to covenant with others'. The gradual process of learning to interact in social situations and a recognition of mutuality in relationship are also important aspects of the study of behaviour in human beings.

Some of this learning can be nourished by the reading of books. But the quality of the student's interaction with his reading material needs to be examined critically if he is not to lose himself in verbalism. Sometimes a wider approach to the resources of books proves of value. Sensitively written novels, studies of actual schools, and books for or about children can all serve to quicken the student's imagination and communicate experience in a significant way. Indeed, literature used in this sense is often an important avenue for the adult's extension of experience and induction into the culture of other countries in later years.

Book learning and direct teaching are not enough, however. There also has to be time for assimilation and digestion — and discussion. Group work provides opportunities for the exercise of the art of communication, which, in fact, is only learnt through practice. The prime value of talking is still undervalued in many colleges, or it is so hedged about with taboos and difficulties of one sort and another that only a very limited kind of communication takes place. I suspect that far richer possibilities of human meetings exist in most environments than we have yet learnt to recognize or exploit in worthwhile ways. Parents, administrators, and visitors from other countries have much to teach students, as well as practising teachers at many stages of their professional careers, ranging from the old and retired,

the experienced practitioner, to the very young in their first posts. It is difficult to over-estimate — or to express — the value of close contacts with family groups. Here it can be of particular value to meet such groups of other nationalities, provided the setting is a human and natural one where relationships can be both respected and explored.

Methods of study which use the actuality of observation or teaching in the classroom, involvement in the life of a school, participation in play centres or with parents in the home, helping with school camps or children's holidays — all these can be useful kinds of field work. There are many ways of linking such direct contact with children and human groups with the theoretical aspects of the student's study of psychology. So, too, there can be many alternative and equally valid ways of presenting individual units of work and child studies. Active methods of learning call for much diversity if the individual student's needs are to be considered. The wise college community will also use each individual lecturer's contribution as part of a larger team and not require any one person to try to serve all functions. This way lies overstrain and undernourishment of the creative sources of teaching in the lecturers' own lives. So many differing contributions can be used and honoured, the gathered experience of many years spent in schools, scholarship, clear and vivid exposition, the artist's vision and so on. Psychology has need of a wide territory and of many voices.

At the end of a student's course in training I suggest that we should be justified in asking certain questions. Has the student begun to learn that all teaching is ultimately concerned with the human meetings of person to person? Has he acquired some skill in this art of communication, within the limits of his capacity and present stage of maturity; and has he made a beginning in coming to understand how grossly all men fail sometimes, through ignorance, lack of concern, or for some reason which cannot yet be understood? And might this foundation not prove the beginning of further understanding to be built in the years ahead?

E. M. Langdon

Special Courses on East-West Understanding

Rapporteurs: M. S. Jangam and Frank Irvine

The Group first considered the general aims of these Special Courses: — to awaken student interest in the culture and ways of thought of both Orient and Occident and to deepen their understanding of both similarities and differences. It was felt that courses in Teacher Education Institutions could contribute greatly to the lessening of prejudice and bias, whether long or short and not least if they are integrated into present curricula; but it is essential that those who organize and conduct such courses should do so voluntarily, since their interest and enthusiasm is vital for their success.

‘What we need to do, is to find a man with conviction about the importance of international understanding in each institution. We all know a lot of things, and some of them may be the wrong things, contrary to understanding. I believe that human life runs in one stream — that we are all here as parts of the stream of life. If you believe this, whichever angle you start from is basic to understanding.’

Students’ interest can be awakened in East-West understanding by such devices as the celebration of U.N. Day, or through the Associated Schools’ Project referred to by Dr. Abraham. But special courses are also required to enlarge understanding. It should be noted that what the West needs to learn about the East is not necessarily the same as what the East needs to learn about the West, since their prejudices and preconceived ideas are different.

Suggestions for Content of Courses: (Each teacher would make his own choice in accordance with his own, his country’s and his students’ interests.) Population problems and food problems (Men and Food); Problems of race; man’s need for survival, and for a life in peace; universal declaration of human rights; the different concepts of man in different cultures; the United Nations and its specialized agencies; information and activities about organizations which further international feelings and friendships; the international character of science and technical knowledge and its contributions towards betterment of the living conditions of the human race; fine arts of both Orient and Occident, (including music and dance) and the unity of mankind; a broad com-

parative study of the culture of a country in the east and one in the west; educational problems in Asian and African countries; comparative study of education of a particular eastern and western country or area; rise of new nations and states in Asia and Africa, their changes, progress and developmental plans (e.g. Five-year plans of India); study of different political patterns and ideological differences; current affairs: study of regional affairs or topics; study of obstacles hindering better understanding and appreciation of cultural values.

Upon topics such as these, a broad flexible programme could be based, and each teacher or college staff should make his own choice suitable to his own training college and country. It was felt that valuable results would come from discussions in class (or in smaller groups) followed by projects, rather than from formal lectures.

School Subjects: Teachers could arouse interest in eastern or western people and cultures through ordinary school subjects such as arithmetic, general science, languages and so on, but perhaps particularly through social studies (including history, geography, civic and current affairs).

Geography needs a humanistic approach, and while teaching the necessary facts, emphasis should be laid on man in his environment. Illustrations and factual information should be accurate and up-to-date, and the nature of man in any particular environment should be put over as a whole, without over-emphasis on peculiarities, oddities or unique events, but rather with discussion as to how man is influenced by the physical conditions in which he lives. Teachers have too frequently to rely on out-of-date information, and it was felt that textbooks must be much more often revised. Real and representative pictures of eastern peoples should be presented through different parts of a well-devised geography course, such as five-year plans, the growth of industry, use of modern agricultural methods, construction of irrigation and dams, the working of democratic governments, etc.

History Teaching should in general stress the social rather than the political aspect, and pay less attention to wars, battles and dates. West-

ern text-books have at present little adequate information about eastern countries and their civilizations, and will therefore need supplementing, with some discussion of pre-history in the different cultures considered, to illuminate trends and problems in these countries to-day.

Since the whole world obviously cannot be covered in one course, examples of various representative cultures in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas could be given.

Social History would include developments in science, medicine, philosophy, the religions — to discover what each country has contributed to the general well-being of humanity, and how some have benefitted from the discoveries of others.

Language and Literature. Some aspects which could be discussed in any such course were; folk tales and stories, the derivation and migration of words, the lives of great men, the comparative study of east-west literature with passages quoted from the classics. All these could be included in text-books representing east-west cultural life.

Lack of a common language was seen to be one of the obstacles to a true understanding between east and west. A long and lively discussion on a common language — 'should it be pursued or discouraged?' — took place. The need was obvious and accepted, but the practical difficulties were seen to be great. The group also discussed whether one of the eastern languages should be taught in western countries along with the mother tongue, but could come to no conclusion.

Religious Education - Ethics and Philosophy. The aim here would be a generally tolerant attitude rather than uniformity of faith. To avoid ignorant misrepresentations and consequent lack of understanding, students need a knowledge of faiths other than their own. Comparative Religion could be taught either as part of the History Course or separately, depending largely on the methods of religious education, if any, in the country where the course is taking place. But the aim in each case would be the same — to develop tolerance and respect for other religions. In the realm of Ethics, students might discuss what basic common ethical principles there are which would help to develop a deeper appreciation of the east or west.

General Science: Some of the topics which would help the teacher to stimulate the stu-

dents' interest in, and appreciation of, the east or west were felt to be:

Famous discoverers and discoveries: e.g. the contribution of eastern cultures to astronomy, chemistry, medicine, pharmacy — C.V. Raman and Jagdischandra Bose from India, one example. The international character of science, including communications (radio and television) and health (vaccination and innoculation). weather prediction and communication. Biology (and theories of race and heredity). Botany. Zoology. Technological and developmental changes, nutrition and diet.

Arithmetic A knowledge of foreign currencies and postal charges would be helpful, as well as the development of numbers and calculation, including the decimal system.

The contribution of the Arab countries in the field of Algebra and Trigonometry is illuminating and fascinating. And income, population, the distribution of languages could all be illustrated by tables, graphs and charts.

Arts and Crafts: This could include knowledge of and familiarity with the materials used in different countries — cotton, linen, clay, wood, metal, cardboard, paper; puppetry for plays and legends: art patterns and art forms of other lands: the music of different parts of the world, with folk songs and dances, and the comparative study of eastern and western musical instruments. Crafts serve a twofold purpose: to develop skills (a medium of education) and to add to the total amount of goods produced — the Gandhian theory of 'earn and learn'.

Physical Education: Games of different lands may be taught, and can be an important factor in the development of peaceful co-existence, with open-mindedness and understanding of different ways. Though up to the present, international games and contests have not always fostered good east-west relations, the group felt that this was no reason for discontinuing them.

Materials and Aids: Lack of suitable teaching materials was felt to be one of the hindrances in the way of mutual appreciation of different peoples.

Text-books The group did not discuss these, since Unesco has a special committee dealing with the subject. But it was felt that there is a need for more text-books giving a balanced picture of both eastern and western life.

Intercommunication between Training Colleges This was felt to be very important. Exchanges of various kinds could be made, such as:

Teaching materials (films, film strips, tape-recordings, gramophone records of contemporary eastern and western music, books dealing with art and culture etc):

Work done by students in art, handicrafts, and other projects:

Educational journals (at student or tutor level):

Experiments, projects and so on undertaken by the different Training Colleges:

Letters from pen-friends:

Unesco: Each Training College should deve-

lop a Unesco department especially devoted to disseminating knowledge about other organizations which further international good feeling.

Training Colleges might also be asked to translate Unesco materials into regional languages, with the help of local specialists.

Unesco should be asked to increase production of low-cost materials, especially films, film strips, records, etc.

There should also be a Unesco Journal in Teacher Training.

How the Job is Being Tackled and by Whom outside the Curriculum

Rapporteur: A. Rajaindran

We first discussed what we meant by the promotion of the right climate, defining understanding as something that went beyond co-existence. It implied being prepared to understand other people, to recognize one's own limitations, to appreciate the merits of others and to be prepared to learn from others.

The promotion of the right climate within the Training College community as setting one's own house in order was thought of in terms of breaking down personal barriers; narrow domestic walls; and specific barriers which stand in the way of international understanding in general and East-West understanding in particular.

Among the obstacles to be overcome the following were listed: — fear, anxiety, lack of inner security, lack of confidence, inferiority feelings on the one hand, and arrogance, lack of humility, intolerance, superiority feelings on the other. Among the remedies listed for the former were, increasing the individual's self-respect, giving experiences of success, providing opportunity to participate in co-operative undertakings, giving scope for creative activity and for self expression in a free atmosphere. Some of these remedies were also applicable for the big-headed and arrogant, particularly group work and group discussions designed to show clearly that everybody

has a contribution to make. Destroying the arrogant person's ego was not considered to be the right approach. Rather should there be in a training college community recognition of varied talents and interests. No highlighting of any particular excellences.

Breaking down narrow domestic walls: This was considered under three headings: organization, personal relations and values. The training college community should be a cross-section of the larger community. Within the training college community there should be no racial, religious or other divisions. All clubs should be open to everybody. Where a training college is residential, communal living, eating and prayers should be the rule. *Example:* At the Malayan Teachers' College, Brinsford Lodge, Wolverhampton, provision was made whereby each religious group or sect had at its disposal a room for prayer. Grace before meals was led by any one of the students with the words 'Let us remember the good things of the day.' Everybody in the dining hall would then remain standing in silent meditation for a couple of minutes. In India, community prayers are organized daily at the beginning of the training college morning session, wherein verses from the Koran, the Bible, Vedas and Buddhist precepts are recited. All members of the staff and students participate in this every day. Birthdays of the Founders of

religions are observed. Lectures on religions of the world are also organized.

The ideal: 'In essentials unity, in non-essentials diversity, in all things charity.' No pattern of organization was envisaged, but the general principle was underlined that one cannot set out to deal with international understanding unless one sets one's own house in order. The breaking down of water-tight compartments in the curriculum was considered as a step towards promoting fuller integration.

Under the sub-heading of *personal relations* it was said that there should be a permissive rather than authoritarian atmosphere inside a training college community. Students should be treated as adults and as prospective teachers rather than as pupils. Much depended on the right relations among staff and between staff and students; these would be reflected in the personal relations among the students. Residential training colleges, it was thought, offered greater opportunities to promote the right atmosphere.

Finally, in this section there was some consideration of the values that should pervade and be upheld in a training college community. These should not just be vocational and material. The values should be human values using this term in a broad sense.

East-West understanding: The question was raised whether the promotion of East-West understanding should be the particular concern of one or more members of the staff. These suggestions are intended to reawaken an interest in this field in bodies particularly concerned to promote it, in the hope that some will take fire at the inflammable point to stimulate persons already in the institutions to carry on this programme, and to discover persons to initiate such programmes in institutions where they do not exist.

While it was thought that the cultivation of international understanding should be integral to the whole life and work at a training college, it was nevertheless recognized that one had to be realistic, that not everybody was interested, and that our best hope was that a few people in each training college would have a special concern to foster this understanding. The creat-

ion of an exclusive department might tend to reduce it to a mere academic task.

The absence of persons particularly interested in east-west understanding may be remedied by the formation of a nucleus from a group of training colleges. This group can help to expand existing work, giving currency to ideas; bring in persons to take up such work; maintain a pool of materials for a loan service.

In order to rouse interest in other training college lecturers there might be inter-training college conferences so that the one keen lecturer in a group of colleges might inspire some of his colleagues. If each training college had at least one member of staff who was willing to be an Unesco correspondent, this would be a beginning.

The general lack of interest prevailing in many training colleges was noted, and was contrasted with the atmosphere usually found at a university, which tended to be less provincial, narrow and nationalistic. Perhaps it was in part because governments tended to exercise less control on universities than on training colleges. But what was probably more important in this connection was the different composition of the student body and of the staff in universities and training colleges respectively. The university student community was more mixed, the staff had a broader experience to draw on and the whole focus of attention was different from that of a training college.

An experience from Maharagama, Ceylon, was described where community living established between post graduate students and normal training students tended to reduce antagonism in both groups, wherever they happened to exist.

How then was international understanding, and particularly East-West understanding, to be promoted in the training colleges? *Through the arts* was the first heading. Among the activities listed and examples given were: through appreciation of works of art. An example of this was given of the Arts Exhibitions held for this purpose at the Nallore Training College, Jaffna, Ceylon, where each exhibition was entirely associated with the culture of one particular country; exchange of students' art and craft work between east and west training col-

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leges, at commemorating anniversaries (Rembrandt Day etc.); learning folk- and classical songs and dances of other countries, play readings and production, poetry readings, studies of national costume, the collection and exhibition of photographs, visits to galleries and museums, international festivals and concerts.

An experiment in an English Secondary Modern School was described by two members. One from the United Arab Republic writes: 'An excellent example of this kind of work is that carried out by a geography master in a secondary modern school in Croydon (London) who, instead of giving formal lessons about other countries, utilised the chance of having students from the University of London Institute of Education of different nationalities in turn give a talk and organize a discussion about his country. Greater progress in understanding other nations and cultures took place under this experimental group than in the control group who received geography lessons in the formal method of teaching the subject.' *M. H. Mikhail*

A Note on Associated Training Colleges: Exchange of records, tapes, films, slides and books among East and West Training Colleges with printed suggestions how to utilize them for the promotion of East-West understanding. There should preferably be a centre for the exchange of all such items. But the absence of such a centre should not be an excuse for training colleges to do nothing. They might well take matters into their own hands.

Associating Training Colleges should be thought of not merely in terms of links with Unesco, but primarily in terms of links among training colleges, east and west. Just as schools have close association with sister schools abroad, so each training college could have a sister training college. This could encourage pen-friendships; magazines, journals, daily papers could be exchanged. But such an association between two training colleges could well go beyond the exchange of information. East-West training college communities could render services to one another. Even the exchange of student teachers should not be ruled out. (If big business was subsidizing schemes such as Outward Bound schools, why shouldn't it

respond generously to schemes promoting East-West understanding?) Ideally Unesco should have funds for such exchanges, ideally it should act as a central co-ordinating authority to introduce training colleges in east and west to one another, but while Unesco's resources and funds were limited, there were other avenues. Initial contact with another training college could be made through someone from the other country who happened to be in one's own country, be he or she a student, or a foreign visitor or a cultural attaché.

Various forms of voluntary service were considered. It was felt that service should amount to more than money-raising efforts. Examples were given of schemes organized by IVS¹. (International Voluntary Service), help given to student communities struck by typhoon²: a Surrey scheme³ where students decided to support a boy's education.

Training Colleges could either collaborate directly, or work through some other voluntary organization such as the Save the Children Fund. A particular student society in a Training College might link up with some international body and offer its services through it. (Example of the Red Crescent Society's collaboration in Egypt with the International Red Cross in Geneva.)

Work-camps came into this category too. Students could benefit a great deal from them as persons, through contact with students from

1. A member from Holland informs: The International Voluntary Service, one of the oldest international work camp movements, uses the technique of wage earning services (work camps) in industry and agrarian work in order to collect money for volunteers who want to go abroad to far away countries and for whose travel costs the necessary funds are lacking.

P. Kleerebezem

2. A member from Japan writes: 'A secondary school in a town in Japan was sent presents from a school in the U.S.A. as a token of sympathy when a typhoon hit the town. Since then there has been so to say sister school relationship between this school in Japan and the one in the U.S.A.'

B. Iwahashi

3. A member from Ceylon writes: 'At Secondary School there is in operation a scheme by which the students of the school give financial assistance to an orphan boy in South India to proceed with his studies. The recipient sends a monthly letter giving also news from his country and this is displayed on the Notice Board with a translation, as it is written in his own language.'

A. Rajaindran

other countries, and at the same time give service. (Examples were given from Malaya ⁴.)

The suggestion was made that an extra year of a teacher training course might well be devoted to giving service in another country. It need not be immediately related to teaching at all. So often what seems to happen, when the length of teacher training is extended, is that the amount of academic work is extended instead of an attempt being made to widen students' horizons. Nothing would be more likely to have that effect than giving a year of one's life to a worthwhile cause in another country. The suggestion was also made that young teachers immediately after completing their training might go to another country and be willing to offer a year's teaching service. Many young teachers on leaving training college were very idealistic and, before settling down, would be prepared to give a year's service in return for their fare paid and their keep, with no other emoluments. Nor need this be too unrealistic a project. *S. C. Naverednam*.

A trained teacher in Malaya, for example, would get a salary of about £ 45 per month. £ 20 of that amount would go for the accommodation and board of the young overseas teacher, and the £ 25 remaining would in 10 months accumulate to £ 250, that is, the return fare to Malaya. It would be of greater benefit to the host country if the young teacher had had some teaching experience in his own country before coming out, but on the other hand, he or she was more likely to be settled by then, married perhaps, and finding greater difficulty in arranging such a project than at the outset of his or her career. Unesco should ideally have funds for exchange scholarships of all kinds, but the group, as before, again felt that the absence of such funds should not be an excuse for doing nothing.

4. A member from Malaya writes of work camps: 'The Methodist Church in Malaya organized work camps whereby the younger members of the Church on the threshold of their professional and vocational training living in Camps erected community centres, dug wells and drains and did whatever was felt to be most urgently needed to improve the lot of the villagers. They were a multi-racial group on most projects, but living and working together on a common project gave them a closer understanding.' *S. C. Naverednam*

The association of training colleges directly with Unesco was considered. Among the suggestions made were the observing of a Unesco week to which all training college societies and clubs could contribute ⁵.

People from overseas, embassy officials and others could be invited; there could be pageants, drama and choral concerts, essay competitions, displays of Unesco books and pamphlets with translated passages, readings from great books. A training college might have a Unesco club, or an East-West Fellowship club. What mattered perhaps most was that there should be at least one staff member who was really interested. Students would rise to the occasion; there was a lot of goodwill, but often this goodwill was not tapped. Many young people lived in a fools' paradise and were ignorant of the conditions in which other people had to live. There was a place for links between training college students and other international bodies such as WHO, U.N. Associations and the like. There could be one-day conferences on a particular theme; students would prepare and read for them beforehand, and could be asked to write papers on the conference afterwards.

East-West understanding can be promoted through student discussions of moral issues, such as the relationship between the sexes, the emancipation of women, and the like. There was a place for symposia, forum and panel discussions on topics such as the individual and the family, race relationships, intermarriage, the status of women. Such discussions could take place in student societies, such as international relations clubs, history and politics societies etc. Greater benefit could be derived from discussions where numerous points of view could be presented than from debates which because of their 'either-or' character often did not make for enlightenment and the true appreciation of issues.

5. 'UNESCO Day has been observed regularly every year at St. Matthew's College, Colombo, Ceylon. The programme for the day included: A UNESCO Poster Competition, — a Quiz on International Knowledge — Display of pictures and flags obtained from UNESCO in the main hall, — a fancy football match, a talk by a member from among the foreign diplomats, a film show of films borrowed from Unesco.

Chairman's Summing up

J. A. Lauwers, Professor of Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education

What I think I can best do is to try and indicate some of my own feelings about the nature of the problem that we have had before us. That is, to try to say a few things about East and West, about how understanding between the two might be promoted, and why we want to promote it.

To start with the latter, my chief reason for wanting to promote East-West understanding is that I see in the world a very dangerous situation indeed. This situation has arisen as the result of the intense and growing nationalism which helps to split the world into a number of communities or social units, each believing that it is necessarily menaced by the existence of other autonomous units. The dilemma in which we find ourselves, therefore, is intimately connected with the growing intensity of national feeling attaching itself to the image of a state.

The danger is very great when these states are able to mobilize vast resources and are armed with instruments of unlimited destructive potential. These problems are really perplexing. One might have hoped that, in these conditions especially, social and political action would be guided by reason and knowledge and that it would be animated by a spirit of mutual respect, tolerance and love. But when one looks at the world, one sees that it is divided not only along the lines of mutually antagonistic ideologies which have to do with economic organization, that is with communism and the so-called free liberal economies of the west, but that it is divided also by mutually antagonistic ideologies in which christians believe or tend to believe that it is not possible for the world to be a peaceful and happy place if it contains communists who are anti-christian, and communists who feel in the same way that somehow their own welfare is bound up with the abolition of Christianity. These are very difficult antagonisms to remove or even to damp down in an atmosphere as intense and dangerous as that which at present exists in the world.

Moreover, even if one were able to find the

right solutions, it might well prove impossible to get them applied. I have long thought that even if one could get the statesmen of the world together and bring them to agree on sensible solutions productive of peace and the rapid growth of happiness, dignity and prosperity, they would then find it impossible to sell those solutions to their own populations. For these difficulties, these controversies, are deeply rooted in past historical experiences. The current climate of opinion, compounded of mutual suspicion and mutual antagonism, seems too strong for beneficent proposals to prevail against it.

But something, perhaps, one may hope to achieve. Consider, for example, how the relations between the areas of western Christianity (western Europe and North America roughly) and other parts of the world in Asia and Africa at present exhibit a mass of misunderstanding and mutual suspicion which somehow one ought to try to moderate and make a little less acute.

During the past fifteen years or so I have had the great good fortune to travel through most parts of Asia and to spend at least a little time in nearly every country of that continent and of the Middle East. And there are certain general conclusions to which I have come and certain general impressions which I have gathered which I should like to share.

For example I should like to share with all the westerners here, and indeed, also with the people from Asia, my impression of the enormous diversity of what we call Asia. We tend, so easily, to lump it all together and think of it as 'the eastern world'. But, in point of fact, the differences in ways of life, in the appearance of the people, in the modes of dressing and in the religion between say, Japan and Kashmir are quite as great as those between Kashmir and England. They are astonishingly different from one another; they are quite different cultures. One simply cannot talk about Asia as a whole and suppose that at the same time one can say much that is true and meaningful about peoples as diverse as the Japanese and the Kashmiri, as the Tais and the Iranians.

Yet, while I would stress that there is in Asia an enormous number of different nations, communities, climates, religions and philosophies, it is still clear that there is something all these countries have in common. Precisely what this is, it is very difficult to say. One of the many experiences I had was travelling right across Siberia to Irkutsk and then from Irkutsk across to Outer Mongolia and down to Peking. When I got to Irkutsk after three or four days' travelling I felt I had reached the last frontier, the absolute end. The extremely uninviting expanse of Lake Baikal looked icy and cold and the town appeared equally unattractive. Irkutsk is in some ways a little like the most extreme corner of Canada that you can imagine. It is cold and gloomy, with in addition an air of imminent decay and dilapidation. But when I got back to Irkutsk after two or three months in China I felt the place had changed. As I came to it again I knew I had left the east and was back in the west. Approaching it from the east, Irkutsk seemed much like Pinner. It was certainly much nearer to that London suburb than it was to Peking. The buildings seemed a little similar and the people looked like the people of Pinner wearing different clothes. One began to see that all over the area where the christian nations have spread, there is a certain unity of cultural style.

But I am not sure whether, in the end, this difference in cultural style between China-Japan as an area and western Christendom generally, is the important thing from our point of view. What I do notice is that in all these eastern countries there is a heritage of something like four hundred years of contact with westerners,

And it is important that we should remember the kind of westerners these people in Asia have met. They have met the west first of all under its three most characteristic guises. The missionary, convinced of the truth of his own religion, rather intolerant of other religions, but on the whole a peaceful and kind person, who sincerely believes that he brings benefits by seeking to spread the faith. We nowadays have secular missionaries of the same sort. They sail under the banner of I.C.A., or under that of technical aid. These are secular missionaries, convinced of the superiority of their own know-

how. This is one guise. The second is the soldier, believing that the sword is the ultimate arbiter. And the third is the trader, eager for gold. Now, in a sense, I think many of the peoples of the east believe that the westerner is, typically enough, a missionary, a trader and a soldier; all three in close alliance together and all three convinced of the superiority of their way.

At a later date the peoples of the east met those who had not perhaps succeeded in making good in their European homelands. These persons, who came very often from rather low milieux in Europe, suddenly found themselves able to enjoy privileges such as they could never have hoped to attain in their own countries. They sought to justify the possession of these privileges by assuming attitudes of arrogance and contempt. Though, mind you, these westerners in their contacts with, for example, the Indians behaved only in the same way as the Indian upper class behaved towards their own people. On the whole, upper class Indians or Chinese or Japanese showed in their relations with their social inferiors an extraordinary amount of arrogance, which differed from the western variety only in that it was social rather than racial arrogance.

The result of all these contacts has been to leave all over Asia a heritage which I do not like. There is a rather deep resentment towards the westerners. One can imagine something of the kind of resentment they feel if one thinks of the attitude of a highly cultivated European towards an American, and then multiplies it by about five.

The people of the east think among themselves: 'Who are these people, anyway, who come along and lord it over us and tell us what to do? On what do they base their superiority? Are not we too a people of ancient culture who have known civilisation for two thousand years and more?'

In the west on the other hand, the attitudes are slightly different from these. On the whole I would have thought there is a good deal of unthinking unappreciative superiority towards the east. Westerners know that most of the countries of the east, being countries of a rural economy with the exception of Japan, are

rather poor. The people are poor and because they are poor, they are not well fed. There is an unfortunate tendency in human beings to think that people who are poor are so purely through their own fault and that this indicates in them a certain inferiority at all sorts of levels. But this does not go very deep.

What I tend most to regret in the western countries is a lack of appreciation of the diversity which exists in the world, which could be an extraordinarily enriching appreciation of mankind's infinite potentialities. It is a pity that only so few should seem able to appreciate the beauty of the country of Japan, or the elegance of its architecture or the charm of its music. And the same can be said of all the countries of the east. There must be ways in which the west can enormously increase its appreciation of the graces and beauty of life; can learn to see that even in poverty, beauty may still be pursued, can discover that there are other approaches to the problems of life, and can, as a result of this appreciation, deepen its awareness of what its own culture means to itself.

One of the things I have gained through my contacts with the Asian peoples has been a much keener appreciation of what it is that the west is after — a certain *prise de conscience*. Taking stock of the results of these experiences, that which I prize most has been the increased awareness that I have gained, the appreciation of and delight in the culture of Europe. I have been forced to look at myself, at my own beliefs and my own way of life, and to see that these represent only some of a variety of possible approaches.

In what I have said so far, I have tried to show that, in searching after East-West understanding there are problems of increasing the mutual appreciation which differing cultures have of one another. And in seeking to increase this understanding our aims are not only political but also very deeply cultural, philosophical and religious.

Now let us ask what we in the west can do. Consider the opportunities for the increased appreciation of diverse cultural values, offered by this Institute of Education in which we meet. When I look at the place from this point

of view, I think that on the whole we do not do too bad a job. That is to say, we do a job about as good as can be expected in view of the manifest imperfections of the whole of the staff and the manifest imperfections of the whole of the students. For even the members of Institutes are subject to the limitations common to human beings everywhere! None of us is clever enough none of us has time enough and none of us is kind enough. But having taken these things into account I do not think we do too badly.

It would be worth analysing our condition and trying to evaluate the results of some of the things we do. Quite clearly one of the main conditions is that we have among us a substantial number of persons whom we can feel convinced are fully our equals. This condition is regularly fulfilled. They come from outside Europe and join with us. They listen to the same lectures, participate in all our activities and we can see straight away that they are people exactly like ourselves. They are continually educating our own students and staff. All the time we learn from them not only those things that can be communicated through words but also those which can only be communicated through actions. One sees little acts of kindness which bring home the lesson that they are people just like those of our own group; no better, no worse.

Some of the other activities that we engage upon help to make this more explicit, and to draw up into consciousness the things that we have learned. There are measures, some of which are informal, to which I attach high value. I am thinking of activities such as our Comparative Education tours, where our students go abroad into another environment and live and mix freely together in perfect friendship for a couple of weeks. Again, there is the '58 Club, where every so often a social occasion is arranged and an Indian tells the others about Indian culture or a Japanese about Japan. By these means information is conveyed which becomes part of us all, largely because of the general background of feeling that exists in the Institute and the face to face knowledge that people have had of those in different cultures. I mention this Institute only because I know it at first hand and very inti-

mately and in detail, but I am sure the same kind of thing goes on in other places. If we could spread practices of this sort right through the teacher training world, great things might be accomplished.

And from the reports which we have heard this morning it seems clear that these things are capable of being practised on a wider scale without too much difficulty. In a college of any kind and of any level there will be ample opportunities for achieving this mutual appreciation of East and West, and indeed an appreciation of all the cultures, not only of Europe, Asia and America but of the whole world. It is essential that those who are in charge of the teaching and the students themselves should be aware that this is an important issue, an issue, I repeat, important not

only at the political and social levels but also at the individual and cultural levels.

If this conference can serve to spread more widely a knowledge of the opportunities that exist, then it will not have been in vain. But in any case there is something that we can be sure that we have achieved. Some thirty of us have met together under conditions of great friendship, great mutual tolerance and great mutual respect. And I think everyone who was here will, to some degree, have been changed by the experience. That is to say, they will to some degree have learned to appreciate and respect and to look with sympathy and understanding at cultures and peoples different from their own. We have made a modest contribution to that deeper understanding on which the future of the world depends.

Some Post - Conference Reflexions

Mademoiselle Coekelberghs (Belgium) writes:

...I hope I shall have the pleasure to meet again, one day, at least some of the persons whose acquaintance I made in London at the conference. For me, it was the first time I had attended such a meeting, and I think I can say, without exaggeration, that this has been a very interesting and rewarding experience. I probably did not say much but listened with the greatest attention. I have been struck by the enthusiasm of some of the members and by the genuine good will of all participants. If that spirit can be communicated to young teachers here and there in the world, I think the conference will have served its purpose...

Dr. Hopper (India) writes:

...Why does the teaching of the foundation fields not produce international understanding? What is the remedy?

The subjects are taught as purely academic disciplines unrelated to the present life-situation in the world. The history of education could be explored through the theory and principles of education propounded by great educators and philosophers and psychologists. Such a course could be taught realistically in an international setting. Can the west derive anything

from the educational philosophy of Gandhi, and from the less individualized extended family life in Asia and Africa? How far have the philosophies of Herbart, Dewey and other western philosophers influenced eastern educational theories and practice?

Again, Ancient Indian Education, Athenian and Spartan Education, Chinese Education, Roman Education when taught in a comparative manner produces an international background to the whole study of education. Comparative Education is a subject taught only in the Master's Degree course in Education in India. Yet it could be interpreted even in the first degree or even in the undergraduate course in Teacher Training. An east-west expert committee could be constituted to consider the feasibility of this programme.

The subject lecturers and trainers themselves have no background of international understanding. Books and reading material on this concept must be made available to them, and these materials must be made available in the major regional languages.

Lecturers who have visited other countries could be encouraged to write books in their *own* regional language or at least translate the existing ones.

We must all make full use of the few educa-

tionists who visit other countries, enabling them to give illustrated talks on their experiences. It appeals more to the student population to hear from one among themselves, talking to them in their own language about culture of other countries, than to hear from a foreign national.

As a lecturer in science and health education I wish to add a few comments. The W.H.O. has undertaken major projects: five Malaria Eradication programmes, B.C.G. vaccine and so on. Through the celebration of Health weeks, W.H.O. Day, Health Exhibitions, films etc., international understanding could be extended.

Both very ancient and modern scientific discoveries provide a fertile field. For example, in the 'scientific tendency in education' in the history of education course, the discoveries of Archimedes, Galileo, Dalton, Pasteur and others may be outlined. What were the effects of these discoveries, culture and education in their own countries? Why was there conflict between ancient ways of thought and new discoveries? How are the modern discoveries in the various fields of science useful in unifying the world?

Professor Iwahashi (Japan) writes:

1. *Regarding the exchange of materials and information:* Due attention should be paid to the correction of stereotype notions about the countries in the east and in the west; for example, to send out only materials on kimono (Japanese dress) flower arrangement, tea ceremony, folk dance etc., would result in failure in improving understanding of Japan, because it only serves to intensify the ready-made stereotype notion of Japan.

2. *On making projects:* Difference in aspect of east-west relationships, or difference in the problems of east-west understanding should be taken into account: Problems look different according to whether they are seen from the east or from the west, from one country or from another country. For example an excellent project of Mr. Selwyn Lewis in *History Syllabuses and a World Perspective* presented to the meeting by Mr. N. H. Mikhail would be suitable mainly to students in the west and not so much for students in the east. We should ask ourselves why. Unless teachers can make clear the problems seen from their own country towards east-west understanding, and as-

pects seen from their own standpoint, projects will remain unproductive.

Finally it seemed to me that members of the conference including myself had very little experience of our main topic, while 'teacher training' was quite familiar to all the members. Therefore discussions tended to go around topics of teacher training itself instead of directly attacking the main points of east-west understanding. I personally don't think that east-west understanding will be improved, as group one reported, when the general atmosphere of teacher training institutions becomes democratic. I believe that east-west understanding needs special and concrete projects.

Noticing the fact, I should like to suggest that next time you could have sociologists, journalists, diplomats, historians, economists etc. in your conference as well as educationists and teachers.

Mr. M. S. Jangam (India) writes:

The participants had the unique experience of living together. Such experience, I think, was of great help in vitalizing us of the Training Colleges in co-operative thinking and planning. I also feel that many contacts and visits have originated from this conference. Some experience was also obtained in the kind of adjustment necessary in East-West understanding. In the conference each member was in effect an ambassador of his country for world peace — a step in the direction of world peace. Free exchange of ideas and experiences in and out of the conference room also took place. All these things were lively, interesting and instructive too.

The character of the conference was unique; it proved to be very useful, happy and comfortable and was a great success. Of course what the participants produced is in no sense a 'finished product' as can be seen from the reports. The field was very large if we were to cover all the aspects of the problem. Theoretically it was very interesting but from the practical point of view it was very difficult.

Particularly I was moved by the very short closing speech of Professor Lauwerys. Indeed it was very short but very illuminating and stimulating. Professor Lauwerys spoke with much understanding and called for a new orien-

tation, pleading for sanity instead of the unfortunate attitudes of imperialistic arrogance and the scornful repercussions of a superior culture-conscious Asia.

Who will forget the exploratory talk and the picture of Unesco's work given by Dr. Abraham. He was a true representative of an International body — his limbs made in England and his mind was shaped in English school before he was planted in American soil and now is flourishing in the soil of Unesco. He stressed that Unesco is now convinced that the best point of development is in training teachers, and that bodies like N.E.F. can act more freely than Unesco which has to proceed cautiously through government channels. Indeed there was the combination of the idealist and the practical man in him when he said that far from attempting too many things we should all focus on a few important practical programmes or projects. He sounded a new thought in the necessity to understand the East in a new light and not as heretofore as 'Minor Actors in a European Drama.'

Highlights of the conference to me were the moments in which certain participants spoke wholeheartedly in the plenary session on the question of an International Language and on Religious Education. This was very hotly discussed in my group. 'Your religion is your religion and mine is mine; To be tolerant towards other religion is disloyal to one's faith.' This sort of argument amazed me much. Another member rejoined that Islaam could not have survived if intolerance were its main-spring. I always regard the supreme and paramount aim of religious education as to develop respect for other religions and an attitude of tolerance. No one, particularly the teacher, should misrepresent another man's religion.

I am sure none of the participants will forget the funny story of two pistols narrated by our witty friend from Ceylon, nor the experiments and projects in Malaya in inter-racial co-operation, projects worked out within particular subjects in the schools of Belgium, and projects and provision for teaching International understanding in Denmark — cited by the Danish and Belgian ladies and the member from Malaya. Nor shall we forget some of

the songs after that dinner we all ate together on the last evening. This was in fact a practical demonstration of understanding and appreciation of East-West culture, — the glorious jokes of the ready wits, the problems of Malaya and Germany, the explosive contribution from Holland and the sherry party. All these made the conference a place of light and delight. Sweet memories of it will remain with us for ever.

Most of the members felt the need of establishing contact between different Training Colleges of different countries and exchange of teachers. This type of work should be undertaken by Unesco. I kept thinking all the time not of problems of better understanding of East and West but of humanity as a whole. It is not the problem of East West understanding of each others' culture; it is not the content nor the philosophy nor the method; it is the teacher and his attitude towards the problem that counts most. The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but brings our life into harmony with all existence, despite different cultures, traditions, history, religions, geographical barriers and political ideologies. This is what I feel to be the message of the conference.

Mr. L. Kenworthy (United Kingdom) writes:

I thought Shukla summarised the discussions of our group very well, but I am not sure that we made it clear to the rest of the conference how we fitted them into the pattern of the conference as a whole. It may easily have appeared that we were far more concerned with the promotion of more progressive approaches to teacher training than in fostering East-West understanding.

In the course of the conference I came to think of east-west understanding as developing at four possible levels:-

First level: — increasing knowledge about each other, exchanging information about each other's social, political, cultural and economic backgrounds. More knowledge of this kind acquired from books and in lectures might further mutual understanding and appreciation. On the other hand, we know how often it can be irrelevant and even misleading, especially when people have no real concept of the actualities behind words, nor know enough about the enviro-

onment to which they refer to give them their proper significance.

Second level: — increasing experience of each other and of each other's backgrounds, through first-hand acquaintance with each other's art, music, literature and educational and scientific publications and, as far as possible, peoples and countries. Where first-hand experience cannot be provided, sound films of the right kind can be a most valuable substitute, and I am sure we could do much more to promote the exchange of material of this kind. This, it seems to me, is the only way in which we can begin to develop reliable insights and genuine appreciation. Even so it can often end with misunderstanding and rejection, because of the temptation to evaluate each other in terms of our own upbringing and the moral and cultural standards characteristic of our own particular society.

Consequently we have to consider the need to go further still, to the third level, which is that of the anthropologist for example, whose job it is to try to transcend the limitations of his own background through his knowledge of the social sciences and scientific techniques. Unfortunately, there are not enough first-hand studies, especially from the East, to give us direct guidance here, but I am sure that those who have acquired knowledge of these disciplines in relation to their own culture will find it makes all the difference in their attempts to understand others.

There is still a fourth level, that of personal attitudes, which was the one to which our group gave most attention. It seemed to us that we must pay far, far more attention to the influence of attitudes on the evaluation of experience if there is to be any considerable 'rapprochement' between peoples of widely dissimilar cultures. The authoritarian mentality, however well-intentioned, inevitably finds it extremely difficult to appreciate and accept those whose conventions and values are not their own. In my experience this applies to psychologists and social scientists as much as to anybody else, so that success at the third level of approach to mutual understanding is as dependent as at any other level on the quality of our personal attitudes.

It seems to me that all this has a great deal to do with the organisation and administration of training colleges. All colleges could do something to promote better East-West relations, but the level at which they can make their contribution will depend upon their general organization and their approach to students' courses. Colleges that are burdened with a heavy timetable can do little more than contribute at the first level by adding to or amending existing syllabuses or having special days devoted to East-West projects of the kind mentioned at the conference.

The second level of approach requires broadly conceived timetables, preferably with plenty of block-time for study and a generous allocation of free periods. At this level, and also at level three, colleges will be able to make their best contribution by exploiting the individual interests of the students in optional studies within the courses already provided, in education as well as in other subjects of the curriculum.

So far as the fourth level of working is concerned there is little that I would want to add to Dr. Shukla's report. It is unfortunate that so many colleges still seem to have a long way to go in adopting liberal and enlightened attitudes towards children, and further still in adopting liberal and enlightened attitudes towards their own students. The effect of illiberal and unenlightened attitudes in colleges is the perpetuation of illiberal and unenlightened attitudes in students, developing in them just the kind of rigid, unimaginative and unsympathetic approach to others which will *not* foster better East-West understanding and appreciation. The colleges that can make the best contribution now are those which have gone farthest to liberalise themselves. In other words, the future of East-West-relationships is closely bound up with the future of progressive education in the training colleges, and it is not surprising that the discussions in our group moved in such a fluid way from one to the other.

Mr. P. Kleerebezem (Holland) writes:

We might conclude after a conference like this, that, across all borders between the east and the west, we have got so much in common that it must be quite possible or even

easy to work and educate for mutual understanding. — This conclusion is absolutely wrong.

We had got really very much in common as members of this particular conference, as intellectuals with a strongly westernized, scientific and educational background. In this particular situation of being around a table in a permissive democratic atmosphere, we all felt like being more or less on holiday, far from ordinary life — meeting interesting people (and how interesting they were, actually!), doing nice things, like sitting around a table, chatting and eating together during the free hours, being the guests of N.E.F.

But... what about the follow-up at home? What about the gap between the thirty or forty of us and those some milliards of people who were *not* at the conference, not highly westernized educated intellectuals, not living in a democratic and permissive atmosphere, who are horribly far from being on holiday, from gently chatting or even from eating at all? What about all these who do *really matter if we are to solve* the whole problem of cross-cultural understanding? How can we reach them?

Sure! By teacher training among other things. But the teachers whom we are going to train (if at all) belong existentially and essentially to those other milliards. They don't have our conference — and other experiences. Shouldn't we arrange for them to have those? Only experience really teaches a thing. How can we bridge, and afterwards fill a bit up, the gap between those others and us?

We need a follow-up very much. Next conference please. Some people only. Some funds. A lot of determination. Good relations in the right places. Aims: Immediate foundation of training centres for supplementary international education of advanced young teachers from east and west.

That is what I wanted to say. And also, how I enjoyed the stay in England and your hospitality. Thanks!

Dr. A. Lange (Norway) writes:

...I must tell you how much I enjoyed the meeting in London. The atmosphere was very stimulating, and I think I learned a great deal. Would you please give my respects to Professor

Lauwerys and the other delegates to the meeting when you happen to see them?

Mrs. Kamma Struwe (Denmark) writes:

The conference: It might give a false impression, if the report of this conference appeared as a report of 'an international conference'. We had no representatives from USA nor from the communist countries, it was a sort of meeting of Commonwealth countries and some of their friends and relatives from Asia and Europe. This made the conference very positive and fruitful but we must admit that the representatives have much in common in culture, and even if we had national differences, race differences, religious and political differences we had no strong ideological or power-political controversies between delegates.

Besides the persons selected for the conference were mostly people working in the same sort of work for international understanding; all were willing and accustomed to working with people from other parts of the world. One member said to me: Strange to meet a Muslim, a Hindu, a Roman Catholic and still feel it is easier to make them understand you than it is to make the staff at your own training college understand you!

The group discussions. I wonder, if we didn't make a mistake when we divided the discussion about 'the right attitude' from the discussion about correct information? I had to leave before the final meeting. I wonder, if you in the report will be able to join conclusions from Group 1 (attitude) with conclusions from Group 2 (knowledge).

Even if it was not said, it is my impression that everybody took it for granted that the teacher can change the attitude of the student, and that he has a right to do so.

If I had not lost my voice the second day, I should have liked to raise the question in this way: The syllabus in history, geography, literature, social science, psychology should take up such subjects as colonialism, race, the individual and religion, democracy in western Europe and in Africa, education in different countries and so on. The students should be encouraged to work independently with these problems, to discuss them and after that to

realize that these are problems which divide nations, and political parties in the students' own country. They are things every teacher must find out about for himself, because his attitude will influence the lives of other people.

Perhaps this opens a discussion about words only, and perhaps my restricted knowledge of English misled me, but in my ears 'changing attitudes' and 'doing international understanding in school' comes close to propaganda, whereas 'discussion of current events' leaves the student free to choose for himself, feel responsibility. If this free choice gives him a positive attitude to international understanding, I am sure this attitude will stay in his teacher personality after he has left training college. But if he comes to training college with a negative attitude formed by society, I think that the same negative attitude will develop in him as a teacher unless the attempt to change his attitude at training college has been linked with giving him new knowledge and appealing to him to keep this knowledge up-to-date and living...

We all agree that the atmosphere of the college and the atmosphere of the teaching is important. Where it is not free and democratic, it might make international understanding impossible or difficult: we didn't agree that atmosphere alone was sufficient to give international understanding, even when we are able to teach tolerance and give students more maturity.

Mr C. W. Robert (United Kingdom) writes:

One of the strongest impressions that I carried away was of the ease and high degree of mutual understanding with which Indians and English could talk to one another, and of the surprise of the Continental Europeans that this could be so. I don't know how you could use this in a report, without it sounding self-congratulatory on the English side. I don't think we have reason for smugness, because the understanding is mainly Indian (or Asian) understanding of our ideas about education, and not very much the other way.

Thinking over this, it is very much on my mind that we still have too imperialist an attitude of mind as regards the flow of educational ideas. We still tend to assume that we have everything to teach and little or nothing to learn from the East. Our teaching about other

countries is largely confined to facts about them and does not extend to what their people think (a much more difficult field to explore.)

I noted a question which Mr. Kenworthy asked: What would Indians like us to teach about India? That probably did not get as much attention as it deserved. He also suggested that it was of tremendous value to put students (mentally, I suppose) in situations where other moral assumptions and values apply. Because prejudices are not involved (?) they could in this way learn much from other cultures.

Dr. Shukla's constant reiteration that students needed to work in a permissive atmosphere, in which they could freely pursue ideas and, on occasion, express themselves in contradiction to lecturers' judgments, seemed to be important. It was closely connected with the idea that secure, well-balanced persons will be best able to throw off prejudice, to which was added that this sense of personal security is very hard to achieve in times of very rapid social change, or of low status for the teacher.

Mrs. Knott's statement that there is great interest in Germany now in behaviour and conditions of life in other countries seemed to me a great sign of hope. If it is generally true, it shows a remarkable development. But does it arise from the shock of post-war change, or from the degree of security that West Germany has now achieved?

Looking over my notes again, I see that one of the points we kept coming back to, without reaching any conclusion, was the question of how far it was justifiable to make a direct attempt to inculcate particular attitudes. When, for example, you suggested that in some circumstances sociological study might almost take on the character of propaganda in favour of the new structure of a society, there was immediate unfavourable reaction to the word propaganda. But elsewhere it was suggested that much of our teacher training now suffers from having no values. We did not really discuss whether we are possibly suffering so much from fear of dictatorship or of hidden persuaders that we are suspicious of any positive upholding of values. I wish we had discussed the role of leaders in a permissive society.

THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

Adolescence

D. W. Winnicott, F.R.C.P.

There is at this present time a world-wide interest in adolescence and the problems of the adolescent. In almost all countries there are adolescent groups that make themselves evident in some way or other. Many studies of this phase of development are being made, and there has arisen a new literature, either of autobiography written by the young or of novels that deal with the lives of teenage boys and girls. It is safe to assume that there is a connection between this new aspect of our social concern and the special social conditions of the times we live in.

One thing that must be recognized at the start by those who explore in this area of psychology is the fact that the adolescent boy or girl does not want to be understood. Adults must hide among themselves what they come to understand of adolescence. It would be absurd to write a book for adolescents on adolescence, because this period of life is one which must be lived, and it is essentially a time of personal discovery. Each individual is engaged in a living experience, a problem of existing.

Cure for Adolescence: There exists one real cure for adolescence, and only one, and this cannot be of interest to the boy or girl who is in the throes. The cure for adolescence belongs to the passage of time and to the gradual maturation processes; these together do in the end result in the emergence of the adult person. This process cannot be hurried or slowed up, though indeed it can be broken into and destroyed, or it can wither up from within, in psychiatric illness.

We do sometimes need to remind ourselves that, although adolescence is something that we have always with us, each adolescent boy

or girl grows up in the course of a few years into an adult. Parents know this better than some sociologists do, and public irritation with the phenomenon of adolescence can easily be evoked by cheap journalism and by the public pronouncements of persons in key positions, if they refer to adolescence as a problem and leave out of the argument the fact that each individual adolescent is in process of becoming a responsible society-minded adult.

Theoretical Statement: There is a considerable measure of agreement among those concerned with dynamic psychology in their general statement of adolescence in terms of the emotional development of the individual.

The boy or girl in this age-phase is dealing with his or her own personal puberty changes. He or she comes to the development in sexual capacity, and to secondary sexual manifestations, with a personal past history, and this includes a personal pattern in the organization of defences against anxiety of various kinds. In particular, *in health*, there has been in each individual an experience before the latency period of a full-blooded Oedipus complex, that is to say, of the two main positions in the triangular relationship with the two parents (or parent substitutes); and there have been (in the experience of each adolescent) organized ways of warding off distress or of accepting and tolerating the conflicts inherent in these essentially complex conditions. *

Also derived from the experiences of each adolescent's early infancy and childhood are certain inherited and acquired personal characteristics and tendencies, fixations to pre-

* See classic statement of Anna Freud: *The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defence*. Hogarth Press. London, 1937.

genital types of instinctual experience, residues of infantile dependence and of infantile ruthlessness; and further, there are all manner of illness-patterns associated with failures of maturation at Oedipal and pre-Oedipal levels.

The boy or girl comes up to puberty with certain patterns because of infantile and early childhood experiences, and there is very much that is unconscious and much that he or she does not know because it has not yet been experienced.

There is room for a great deal of variation in the degree and type of problem that results, but the general problem is the same: how shall this ego organization meet the new id-advance? How shall the pubertal changes be accommodated in the personality pattern that is specific to the boy or girl in question? How shall each one deal with the new power to destroy and even to kill, a power which did not complicate the feelings of hatred that were experienced at the toddler age?

It is like putting new wine into old bottles.

The Environment: The part played by the environment is immensely significant at this stage, so much so that it is best, in a descriptive account, to assume the continued existence and interest of the child's own father and mother and wider family organizations. Much of what persons like myself are consulted about concerns the troubles that arise relative to environmental *failure*, and this fact only emphasises the vital importance of the environment and of the family setting in the case of the vast majority of adolescents who do in fact achieve adult maturity, even if in the process they give their parents headaches.

The Isolation of the Individual: The adolescent is essentially an isolate. It is from a position of isolation that he launches into what may result in relationships between individuals, and eventually in socialization. In this respect the adolescent is repeating an essential phase of infancy, for the infant is an isolate, at least until he or she has repudiated the not-me, and has become set up as a separated-off individual, one that can form relationships with objects that are external to the self and outside the area of omnipotent control. In other words, before the pleasure-pain principle

has given way to the reality principle the child is isolated by the subjective nature of his or her environment.

Young adolescents are collections of isolates, attempting by various means to form an aggregate through the adoption of an identity of tastes. They can become grouped if attacked as a group, but this is in reaction to the attack; after the end of the persecution the individuals return to their state of being an aggregate of isolates.

Sex Prior to Readiness for Sex: The sex experiences of the younger adolescents are coloured by this phenomenon of isolation; and also by the fact that the boy or girl does not yet know whether he or she will be homosexual, heterosexual, or simply narcissistic. In many cases, there is a long period of uncertainty as to whether a sex urge will turn up at all. Urgent masturbatory activity may be at this stage a repeated *getting rid of sex*, rather than a form of sex experience, and indeed compulsive heterosexual or homosexual activities may themselves at this age serve the purpose of getting rid of sex or a discharge of tensions, rather than of a form of union between whole human beings. Union between whole human beings is more likely to appear, first in aim-inhibited sex play, or in affectionate behaviour with the accent on sentiment. Here again is the personal pattern, waiting to join up with the instincts, but in the long meanwhile there has to be found some form of relief from sex tension, and compulsive masturbation is to be expected in a high proportion of cases, if the investigator has opportunity to know. (A good motto for investigators would be this: whoever asks questions must expect to be told lies.)

It is certainly possible to study the adolescent in terms of the Ego coping with Id-changes, and the practising psycho-analyst must be prepared to meet this central theme, either manifest in the child's life or displayed cautiously in the material presented by the child in the analytic setting, or in the child's conscious and unconscious fantasy and in the deepest parts of the personal psychic or inner reality. Here, however, my purpose is not to teach psycho-analysis, but to survey adoles-

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cence in another way and to attempt to relate today's urgency of the adolescent theme to the social changes that belong to the past fifty years.

The Time for Adolescence: Is it not a sign of the health of a society that its teenagers are able to be adolescent at the right time, that is to say, at the age that covers pubertal growth? Among primitive peoples the pubertal changes are either hidden under taboos or else the adolescent is turned into an adult in the space of a few weeks or months by certain rites and ordeals. At present, adults are being formed by natural processes out of adolescents who move forward because of growth tendencies. This may easily mean that the new adults of today have strength and stability and maturity.

Naturally, there must be a price to pay for this. The many adolescent breakdowns call for toleration and treatment; and also this new development puts a strain on society, for it is distressing for adults who have been themselves defrauded of adolescence to watch the boys and girls in a state of florid adolescence all round them.

Three Social Changes: For me there are three main social developments that have altered the whole climate for adolescents in adolescence.

a) *Venereal disease* is no longer a bogey. The spirochæte and the gonococcus are no longer (as they certainly were felt to be fifty years ago) agents of a punishing God. Now they can be dealt with by penicillin and by appropriate antibiotics. *

b) *The development of contraceptive techniques* has given the adolescent the freedom

* I remember so clearly a girl somewhere after the First World War. She told me that it was only the fear of venereal disease that had kept her from being a prostitute. She was horrified at the idea I put forward in a simple conversation that venereal disease might one day be preventable or curable. She said she could not imagine how she could have got through her adolescence (and she was only just coming through it) without this fear which she had used in order to keep straight. She is now the mother of a large family and you would call her a normal sort of person but she had to come through her adolescent struggle and the challenge of her own instincts. She had a difficult time. She did a bit of thieving and lying, but she came through. But she held on to the venereal disease deterrent.

to explore. This freedom is very new, the freedom to find out about sexuality and sensuality when there is not only an absence of a wish for parenthood, but also, as there nearly always is, a wish to avoid bringing into the world an unwanted and unparented baby. Of course, accidents happen and will happen, and these accidents lead to unfortunate and dangerous abortions or to the birth of illegitimate children. But in examining the problem of adolescence we must accept the fact, I suggest, that the modern adolescent can explore, if he or she has a mind to, the whole area of sensuous living without suffering the mental agony that accidental conception involves. This is only partly true, because the mental agony associated with the fear of an accident remains, but the problem has been altered in the course of the last thirty years by this new factor. The mental agony now, we can see, comes from the individual child's innate guilt sense. I do not mean that every child has an innate guilt sense but I mean that the child in health develops in a very complicated way a sense of right and wrong, a sense of guilt, and ideals, and of what he or she wants for the future.

c) *The atom bomb* is perhaps producing more profound changes even than the first two of the characteristics of our age that I have listed here. The atom bomb affects the relationship between adult society and the adolescent tide which seems to be for ever coming in. We have to carry on now on the basis that there *is not going to be* another war. Now it can be argued that there might be a war any minute in some place in the world, but we know we can no longer solve a social problem by organizing for a new war. Therefore nothing any longer exists that can justify the provision of strong military or naval discipline for our children, however convenient it might be for us to do this.

Here comes the effect of the atom bomb. If it no longer makes sense to deal with our difficult adolescents by preparing them to fight for their King and Country, that is another reason why we are thrown back on this problem that adolescence exists, a thing in itself. So now we have got to 'dig' adolescence.

The adolescent is pre-potent. In the imaginative life the potency of man is not just a matter of the active and passive of intercourse. It includes a man's victory over a man and the girl's admiration of the victor. All this now, I am suggesting, has to be wrapped up in the mystique of the café bar and in the occasional disturbance with knives. Adolescence has to contain itself much more than it has ever had to do before, and itself is pretty violent material, rather like the repressed unconscious of the individual — not so beautiful if opened out to the world.

When we think of the occasional atrocities of modern youth we must weigh against them the deaths that belong to the war that is not, and that is not going to be, and against all the cruelty that belongs to the war that is not going to be, and all the free sexuality which belongs to every war that has ever been but is not going to be again. So adolescence is here with us, which is evident, and it has come to stay.

These three changes are having an effect on our social concern, and this shows clearly in the way in which adolescence comes into prominence as something no longer to be hustled off the stage by false manoeuvres.

The Unacceptability of the False Solution: It is a prime characteristic of adolescents that they do not accept false solutions. This fierce morality on the basis of the real and the false belongs also to infancy and to illness of schizophrenic type.

The cure for adolescence is the passage of time, a fact which has very little meaning for the adolescent who looks for a cure that is immediate, but at the same time rejects one 'cure' after another on account of some false element implied.

Once he can admit that compromise is allowable, he may discover various ways in which the relentlessness of essential truths can be softened. For instance there is the solution by identification with parent figures; and there can be a premature maturity in terms of sex; and there can be a shift of emphasis from sex to physical prowess in athletics, or from the bodily functions to intellectual attainment or achievement. In general, adolescents reject

these helps, and instead they have to go through a sort of *doldrums area*, a phase in which they feel futile, and in which they have not yet found themselves. We have to watch this happening. But an adolescent who entirely avoids these compromises, especially the use of identifications and vicarious experience, must start from scratch, ignoring all that has been worked out in the past history of our culture. Adolescents can be seen struggling to start again as if they had nothing they could take over from anyone. They can be seen to be forming groups on the basis of minor uniformities and on the basis of some sort of group adherence which belongs to locality and to age. Young people can be seen searching for a form of identification which does not let them down in their struggle, *the struggle to feel real*, the struggle to establish a personal identity, not to fit in to an adult-assigned role but to go through whatever has to be gone through. They do not know what they are going to become.. They do not know where they are, and they are waiting. Because everything is in abeyance, they feel unreal, and this leads them to do certain things which feel only too real to us.

We do in fact get very much caught up with this curious thing about adolescents, *the mixture of defiance and dependence*. Those looking after adolescents will find themselves puzzled how a boy and girl can be defiant to a degree and at the same time so dependent as to be childish, even infantile, showing patterns of the infantile dependence that dates from their earliest times. Moreover, parents find themselves paying out money to enable children to be defiant against themselves. This is a good example of the way in which those who theorise and write and talk are operating in a layer that is different from the one in which adolescents live. Parents or parent substitutes are faced with urgent problems of management. The real thing here is not the theory but the impact of the one on the other, the adolescent and the parent.

Adolescents Needs: So it is possible to gather together the needs that adolescents manifest:

The need to avoid the false solution; the

need to feel real or to tolerate not feeling at all; the need to defy in a setting in which dependence is met and can be relied on to be met; the need to repeatedly prod society so that society's antagonism is manifest, and can be met with antagonism.

Healthy Adolescence and Illness Patterns: That which shows in the normal adolescent is related to that which shows in various kinds of ill persons. For instance, the idea of the repudiation of the false solution corresponds with the psychiatric patient's inability to compromise; and in contrast with this there is psycho-neurotic ambivalence and also the deceptiveness and self-deception to be found in healthy people. Again, the need to feel real corresponds with the feelings of unreality associated with psychotic depression, with depersonalisation. And the need to defy corresponds with one aspect of the anti-social tendency as it appears in delinquency.

From this it follows that in a group of adolescents the various tendencies are to be represented by the more ill members of the group. One member of a group takes an overdose of a drug, another lies in bed in a depression, another is free with the flick-knife. In each case there are grouped a band of adolescent isolates behind the ill individual whose extreme symptom has impinged on society. Yet in the majority of these individuals, whether or not they get involved, there was not enough drive behind the tendency to bring the symptom into inconvenient existence and to produce a society reaction.

The Doldrums: To repeat: if the adolescent is to get through this developmental stage by natural process, then there must be expected a phenomenon which could be called *adolescent doldrums*. Society needs to include this as a permanent feature and to tolerate it, to actively react to it, in fact to go to meet it, *but not to cure it*. The question is, has our society the health to do this?

Complicating this issue is the fact that some individuals are too ill (either with psycho-neurosis or with depression or with schizophrenia) to reach a stage of emotional development that could be called adolescence, or they can only reach this in a highly distorted

way. It has not been possible to include in this brief statement a picture of severe psychiatric illness as it appears at this age-level. Nevertheless there is one type of illness that cannot be set aside in any statement about adolescence.

Adolescence and the Anti-social Tendency: It is revealing to study the close relationship that exists between the normal difficulties of adolescence and the abnormality that may be called the anti-social tendency. The difference between these two states does not lie so much in the clinical picture each presents as in the dynamics, in the origin of each. At the root of the anti-social tendency there is always a deprivation. It may simply be that the mother, at a critical time, was in a withdrawn state or depressed, or it may be that the family broke up. Even a minor deprivation occurring at a difficult moment may have a lasting result by over-straining the available defences. Behind the anti-social tendency there is always some health and then an interruption, after which things were never the same again. The anti-social child is searching in some way or other, violently or gently, to get the world to acknowledge its debt, or trying to make the world re-form the framework which got broken up. In the root, therefore, of the anti-social tendency there is this deprivation. In the root of adolescence in general it is not possible to say that there is inherently a deprivation, but still there is something in a diffused way which is the same but in a degree just not strong enough to overstrain the available defences. So that if you take the group that the adolescent finds to identify with, or the aggregate of isolates that forms into a group in relation to a persecution, the extreme members of the group are acting for the total group. All sorts of things in the adolescents' struggle, the stealing, the knives, the breaking out and the breaking in, and everything; all these have to be contained in the dynamic of this group sitting round listening to blue jazz, or whatever is on. And, *if nothing happens*, the individual members begin to feel unsure of the reality of their protest, and yet they are not in themselves disturbed enough to do the anti-social act which would make things

right. But if in the group there is an anti-social one or two or three, willing to do the anti-social thing which produces a social reaction, this makes all the others cohere, makes them feel real, and temporarily structures the group. Each will be loyal and will support the individual who will act for the group, although not one of them would have approved of the thing that the extreme anti-social did.

I think that this principle applies to the use of other kinds of illness. The suicidal attempt of one of the members is very important to all the others. Or, one of them cannot get up, he is paralysed with depression and he has got a gramophone going with very doleful music; he locks himself in his room and nobody can get near. The others all know this is happening and every now and again he comes out and they have a bottle party or something, and this may go on all night, or for two or three days. Such happenings belong to the whole group and the group is shifting and the individuals are changing their groups, but somehow the individual members of the group use the extremes to help themselves to *feel real*, in their struggle to get through this doldrums period.

It is all a problem of: *how to be adolescent during adolescence?* This is an extremely brave thing for anybody to be. Some of these people are trying to do this. It does not mean that we grown-ups have to be saying: 'Look at these dear little adolescents having their

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adolescence; we must put up with everything and let our windows get broken.' This is not the point. The point is that we are challenged and we meet the challenge as part of the function of adult living. But we meet the challenge rather than set out to cure what is essentially healthy.

The big threat from the adolescent is to the bit of ourselves that has not really had its adolescence. This bit of ourselves makes us resent these people being able to have their phase of the doldrums and makes us *want to find a solution for them*. There are hundreds

of false solutions. Anything we say or do is wrong. We give support and we are wrong, we withdraw support and that is wrong too. We dare not be 'understanding'. But in the course of time we find that this adolescent boy and this adolescent girl has come out of the doldrums phase and is now able to begin identifying with society, with parents, and with all sorts of wider groups, without feeling threatened with personal extinction.

This paper is based on a lecture given to senior officers of the London County Council 22nd February 1961, at the County Hall.

The Personal Interpretation of Subject Matter: A Study of Student Teachers

Dr. Abraham Shumsky, Department of Education, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York

This article will test the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the teacher's ability to make his own individual interpretation of subject matter and his ability to teach creatively. Or, to put it negatively, the hypothesis is that there is a positive relation between lack of individual powers of interpretation and *repetitive* teaching. To support these hypotheses, the following experiment is reported:

On Columbus Day a group of thirty student teachers in their regular class session was asked to write down their reactions to three questions, which were given out one at a time, each reaction being completed before the next question was announced:

(i) Suppose a group of Japanese student teachers, your age, comes to our room and asks — What is Columbus Day? Jot down a brief speech answering this question.

(ii) How would you teach children about Columbus? Illustrate by one lesson plan.

(iii) What does Columbus Day mean to you?

The analysis of the responses to the first question revealed that two-thirds of the answers were factual and prosaic. The emphasis was on the historical facts of Columbus' birth, port of departure, names of the queen and of the three boats, the year of the discovery of

America, and on the statement that the world was round rather than flat. The writing of the speeches was trite. They did not convey a sense of emotion and drama but were rather matter of fact. A typical illustration was:

'In 1492 three small ships sailed from Spain. They were the 'Santa Maria', the 'Pinta' and the 'Nina'. Around 100 men were on them. Their commander was Christopher Columbus.

Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy. By the time he was 30 he had gone to sea many times . . . ' etc.

In brief, the 'speeches' of the majority of the respondents resembled the factual and specific way of writing characteristic of an encyclopedia. The same can be said about the responses to the second question — the lesson plans. In essence, they were a digest of the previous factual speech with some additions of arts and crafts activities.

It is interesting to note that while working on the 'speech' and on the lesson plan, some participants said to the instructor: 'I don't think I can do it. I am not up-to-date on the facts.'

A minority of the group members (one-third of the group), both in the writing of the speech and the planning of the lesson, attempted to identify with the struggle experienced by Columbus, struggle against man, conven-

tion and nature. They looked for the *symbolism* in the life of the explorer.

One student teacher wanted to ask children to describe Columbus' childhood. Another wanted to put on a debate on the merit of the trip, to be presented in the queen's council. One lesson plan suggested focusing on Columbus' experiences in prison. (Interestingly enough, this is the only point of information omitted by most student teachers, in spite of its significance in the understanding of the conflicts underlying Columbus' mission. It seems that the intention was to present a stereotyped sugar-coated portrait and avoid struggle and controversy.)

The responses to the third question ('What does Columbus Day mean to you?') suggest an explanation for the two types of reactions. The student teachers who were factual in their speech and lesson planning tended to answer that Columbus has no meaning to them as adults. Seventeen out of the twenty subjects in this 'majority group' gave answers such as the following: 'It is only for children. For teachers — a day of vacation.' 'We learned one thing about him in public school and then it proved to be wrong when we studied history in college. We feel skeptical.'

There was laughter in the group when the third question was read. The laughter expressed the skepticism of the participants.

Without exception the ten student teachers who searched for the personal struggle in

Columbus' life answered the third question by stressing the special meaning the subject matter, or the experience called Columbus Day, had to them.

'He stands for one of the great misunderstood people. Whether he was really great or not does not bother me. The important thing is the symbol.'

'We are a unique country composed of immigrants from almost all over the world. Our history is one long story of the struggle and courage of the immigrants. Columbus' importance is that he was the first immigrant (in America).'

In brief the findings suggest (i) positive correlation between the teacher's own subjective interpretation of subject matter and a way of teaching which emphasizes symbolism, interpretation and creativity, (ii) positive correlation between a lack in the teacher of any subjective interpretation of subject matter and a way of teaching which is factual, prosaic and repetitive.

That the nature of knowledge communicated to children is related to the personal meaning the teacher experiences is borne out in some of the interviews conducted with student teachers.

Student Teacher: I taught my third grade about transport. They are pretty bright and eager to learn. We spoke about ways different people go to work, and then we put it on a chart. (Opens the rolled chart. It reads:

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'People go to work by car.

People go to work by bus.

People go to work by train. *)

They enjoyed the lesson, but I don't think that they learned much.

Instructor: What do you mean?

Student Teacher: They learned to read and write. They enjoyed participating. But content-wise, it was not much.

Instructor: How would you improve it?

Student Teacher: Planning the lesson on transport, I thought about an interesting central theme — *the world is small*, but my mother (a teacher) said it would be too difficult for the children to grasp. They are not ready . . .

What the teacher values, she teaches. The problem of the young teacher is to understand what undermines her ability to experience rich value in subject matter.

In the case under discussion, the student teacher stopped listening to her own sound judgment of what is central and valuable, and when she felt guilty about not achieving a certain depth and not tapping the full meaning of her subject, she quieted her conscience — by adopting her mother's assertion that the children were not ready. With this rationalization, too many novice teachers commit the elementary school child to six years of 'readiness', that is — six years of preparation.

In this case, the student teacher did not develop her own interpretation of the subject matter, because she trusted the judgment of another teacher, more experienced, rather than her own. The insecurities of a beginner make her dependent rather than independent. The dependency, which interferes with the student teacher's ability to look at subject matter creatively is seen in many interviews. Typical comments are:

'The expectation is that we will follow the syllabus. There is no place and time for the new teacher to develop her own ideas.'

'How can you be creative? I spoke about it with my co-operating teacher. She says that the Board of Education is dogmatic. Democracy in education is only for the children. Little free thinking is allowed to teachers.'

'Look at the way most of us (student

teachers) plan our work. We are dependent on the teacher's manual. (Opens a teacher's guide to a primer and shows to the instructor.) The author tells you the exact words to be used. Now, they have guides with an arrangement where you can take the instruction page out. You can read it while you teach. I am often tempted to read the instructions aloud rather than use my own words. It is exactly the opposite of creative teaching.'

Such statements illustrate the novice's recognition that not only internal insecurities but also external pressures interfere with his freedom to develop his own ideas. The objective observer of school life may claim that the teacher is freer than he thinks himself to be. However, the beginning teacher feels that she is supposed to follow the *notes* developed by others. As far as she can see, she is expected to be dependent.

Another difficulty which interferes with the novice's ability to develop her own interpretation of subject matter is the belief that creativity is 'extra' and can be encouraged only if 'time permits', that is, only if 'the important subject matter has been covered.' An interviewee says:

'I had to teach my fifth grade the story of Dr. Dolittle. It deals with a doctor who gave up his flourishing medical practice, filled his house with animals and took care of them.

I encouraged the children to read between the lines and discuss Dr. Dolittle's personality, his sense of values and his fight against public pressure. I encouraged them to disagree in their evaluation of the man. Some saw him as queer and others as a man of principles. My co-operating teacher was very complimentary, saying it was original, and then added: 'But with these children we don't have time to do it. It will be impossible to cover the subject matter. They need to learn the language first.' . . .

This student has, not unnaturally, concluded that the development of creativity is 'extra-curricular', to be worked on only if the 'essentials' of knowledge have been mastered.

The beginning teacher, harassed by a tradition of a primarily fact-orientated school, and by his own anxiety over control and direction,

starts to confuse reading a lot with getting meaning out of what is read. Under external and internal pressure to achieve, the novice stops listening to his own sense of values and joins the rush towards false production 'covering subject matter'.

Conclusion and Implications: The teacher is the most important factor determining the quality of the classroom experience. The teacher who applies notes mechanically will tend to emphasize repetitive teaching. The teacher who has learned to develop and experience his own meaning will move in the

direction of interaction between the learner and the subject matter — towards creativity. A teacher can communicate a rich experience to children only if he experiences it himself as an adult person. This study seems to show that only the minority of student teachers search for a personal depth of meaning in any subject matter, and therefore it is only the minority who teaches creatively.

This article is based on part of a larger project, going on at the Department of Education of Brooklyn College, which attempts to study the problem of repetitive versus creative teaching as perceived and experienced by a group of student teachers.

Feeling my Way

Armida Capelli, Milan

For the last five years I have been a Psycho-pedagogical Adviser to the *Santa Corona*, an Institute of Milan, Italy, which assists some 2,000 children aged 2 to 16 every year. Some of them live in a seaside hospital, some in a pediatric centre on a lake, and some in a mountain prophylactic centre.

Some of the children are feeble or cardiopathic subjects, some are affected by scoliosis or polio, and most are bed-ridden on account of various diseases.

Life and experience has contributed to a very substantial extent to my present approach to the education of handicapped children, which may be summarized as follows: the fields of normality and of anomaly should be drawn as close as possible; the educator's interest should extend to various kinds of abnormal children.

I was born in Milan, Italy, where I enjoyed my own childhood and youth. My parents, bound by an everlasting and mutual love, were successful in bringing up our little tribe of five children in sound moral and physical health.

I played a lot when I was a child . . . played freely and peacefully with many friends, in a tiny public garden that was all for us. I enjoyed much freedom, though it was a heedful freedom: my parents, who never interfered aimlessly with my playing, would always be there should any trouble arise, whenever the intervention of grown-up persons would have had meaning and real importance. It is per-

haps the great influence that playing had in shaping my personality that makes me care so much to-day for this activity of childhood. Lately I have helped forward the children's play in some Departments of the *Santa Corona Hospital* at Pietraligure.

Soon after getting my teacher's diploma, I heard that a school for training deaf-and-dumb children's teachers had been opened in Milan, and went through that course of studies and got my diploma. I was truly enthusiastic over that kind of work, with the seriousness of the scientific studies it entailed, and its human aspect appealed very much to my heart. Helping a dumb child to speak has indeed something of a miracle! I was so fascinated by such specialized teaching that I went through more courses of study and obtained diplomas for teaching mentally retarded, maladjusted and feeble children.

I had the luck to start my teaching career with two intelligent deaf children from a very good home. It was new experiences, new discoveries every day . . . and in those four years I filled pages and pages with notes! Based on these and to make my experiences known, I began to write for publication and this I still do. I also feel a strong urge to keep constantly up to date with what other people are doing in my same field. To answer it, I have attended many national and international conventions, and visited many a school and educational institution in Italy and abroad. I have

travelled a lot, because of the importance of investigating educational problems through a direct knowledge of the social life of peoples. Whenever I come back to Italy, I tell my fellow-teachers about my experiences, and I dare say that this modest contribution of mine has been of some value in improving school and educational activities in my country.

From 1943 to 1946, I left Milan and went to live in a country place called Monticello Brianza, where I taught in the primary schools of that rural district. I took care of those little boys and girls with the same scientific approach which I had been using for teaching handicapped children — individual teaching, physical and mental hygiene, research activity, occupational methods, etc. The results were satisfactory, and I remember the enthusiasm aroused in the district by an exhibition of my pupils' woodwork!

It was then that I got an inkling of what is now a deep-rooted conviction: that the field of normality and that of abnormality should be kept as close to each other as possible — because they can be of mutual and efficient help.

It is my opinion that such medical, psychiatric, psychological and social criteria as characterize the assistance to abnormal children should be used also in the world of normal children. To the former, on the other hand, should be brought the harmony, the wholeness, the art, the confidence in life, the spontaneousness which are basic to teaching normal children. In my present work at the hospital my first care is to bring into that severe and inevitably artificial atmosphere, the living, true

worlds where healthy, normal children live.

The war ended, and I came back to Milan, where I spent ten years teaching in local schools — initially in a school for children with impaired hearing or speech (deaf, hard-of-hearing, stuttering or otherwise dyslalic subjects), then in a school for mentally retarded and maladjusted children.

My activity was thus shifted from sensorially to psychically impaired subjects, and this offered me an opportunity of seeing for myself how valuable to the specialized teacher is a knowledge of all kinds of children. This is due to two reasons: first, abnormalities are seldom found alone: e.g. a deaf child is quite often maladjusted too; secondly, because experience has shown the efficacy of a re-education programme based upon the integration of physical, sensorial and psychical activities.

To-day, having again switched from psychically to physically impaired subjects, I can really see and fully appreciate how useful is the knowledge of various abnormalities in selecting an effective treatment.

For the last ten years I have been working for the National Association for the Assistance to Impaired Teen-Agers. Group activities have many advantages, and we have been concretely successful, particularly in opening new schools and establishing special teaching courses, just because of this sort of group work.

I work a lot, and my work is sometimes very hard and exacting . . . but the rehabilitation of impaired children is so fascinating that all I want is to be able to do still a lot of work in this direction!

Watch out for Crocodiles

Maurice A. Ascher, Wandsworth School, London

A group of twelve-year old retarded boys, some of whom have emotional difficulties, were given the job of taking to pieces an old, battered puppet theatre that was standing at the back of our class room.

For a time things went normally. That is to say they obstructed each other, pulled in opposite directions, caught each other in

painful places with the ends of the timbers and squabbled over the tools.

Gradually a change took place when a couple of lads began experimenting with the discarded material. After twenty minutes it was obvious that what had begun as a task of destruction had become a self-set work of construction.

It was hard to decide if there was a real

leader but it was clear that there was some general purpose. A small hut was being built at the back of our room. The frame-work came from the old theatre and the sides were made of cardboard. The doorway was closed with the old theatre curtains tacked together with book-binding thread.

When the work was declared finished there was an air of excitement and some bewilderment in the class. Not only the boys who had joined in, but even the builders were not quite sure what they had done and why they had done it. The boys had worked in an inner-directed manner, almost in spite of themselves and were now perhaps a little apprehensive as to my reaction.

Almost at once they began testing out. One said 'We've built you a private office.' Another said 'It can be your store-room.' All the suggestions included me and the hut; but I could sense they did not really want me to have it. Without actually rejecting their gift I asked the boys what they would do if it was their own hut. Some of the boys looked as if they had ideas but could not formulate them. Suddenly Arthur burst out: 'It's a Crocodile Room!'

Nobody laughed. I was non-committal. Arthur went on, 'When I *feel* like a crocodile I'm going to sit in there.' So the hut became named 'The Crocodile Room'.

During individual work times the boys leave their places and go into the room. There are no rules governing its use but it has been evolved that more than four is a crowd. Moreover if someone is feeling 'like a crocodile' then he gets the place to himself. The need for a few minutes solitude guarantees peace. I never look in. The boys inside can hear what is going on in the class-room and so are not fully cut off.

Sometimes two or three boys take reading books in and help each other. They really sit and read. These are often boys who have never wanted to read and who came to me as 'non-readers' in this their first year at a secondary school.

Two of the boys have frankly no use for the room. One of these boys is Philip who

lives with the seven other members of his family in one room. He does not need the school to supply him with another crowd. Jack's father left home. The family was left upprovided for, and father even 'borrowed' the children's savings from their pocket-money before going. Jack has moved his desk until it touches mine. His foot touches mine when I sit down. If a boy comes to my desk for help Jack usually jumps up and needs urgent help at the same time. Jack has no use for the 'Crocodile Room'. Other boys spend some time in there every day, others go in two or three times a week. Some boys go in for an hour, others just a few minutes as if to establish their freedom to do so.

Teachers often set great store by co-operativeness, the ability to work in groups and in other social skills. Indeed most classroom situations require these attributes if there is to be any control. However, it is natural for everyone to wish for a few minutes' freedom from rigid control during the day. Some children gain this by needing to go to the lavatory. We notice how this need often comes just after break when full attention is about to be redemanded. In our classroom we have a legitimate means of slackening tension at suitable times. Infants in their Wendy-huts play at life together. Our rather young twelve-year olds can see life from a little distance. For some children the room is a safety-valve. For others it is a snug haven which psychologists would have little difficulty in interpreting. The boys are Londoners and fifteen of the twenty members of the class are flat-dwellers. Their chances of making secret houses are very slight. For some boys the Crocodile Room fills this need.

Whatever we may think of this room within a room it is useful to know what it means to the boys themselves. Here are a few of their recorded impressions:

'Our room would be empty without it.'

'You can go and read a book in peace.'

'I think it is good because you just go in if you want to.'

'If Mr. Ascher said: "Would you like to take it down", I would say NO!'

'When I am in it sometimes I think.'

'It is a private room.'

'Not everyone in the world has a Crocodile Room.'

'If you are upside down you go in to tidy yourself.'

'It is not like any other room.'

'The most important thing is that it is private.'

'It looks as though it has been there for years.'

'I would not like it to go away.'

'Only our class can go in there.'

'I called it the Crocodile Room because it suits it.'

'It is good to have it. We did not know we were making it.'

'It is like a little house.'

'It means a lot to me. I can think in peace.'

Ronald is the twin brother of Arthur. He has always been compared poorly with his brother. After being in the room he says he feels like the 'King Crocodile' and that he 'swims home from school amongst the fishes'. He gains a harmless boost to a depressed ego. He says that when he has gone 'the lions come back in and the birds fly away from the hut.' Too many lions have come into his little life. We hope a few more birds will sing in it.

From recordings of boys' thoughts we can gain considerable insight. The Crocodile Room facilitates the releasing of information of great value to the teacher of troubled children. It was their own spontaneous solution to some of their problems.

'Not everyone in the world has a Crocodile Room.'

Dr. William Boyd

In the death of William Boyd at 88 the N.E.F. has lost one of its ablest pioneers and education one of its most significant figures. His was a great life, from its humble beginnings in Ayrshire to its peaceful but fertile close in Devon. It is rare to find the scholar, the teacher and the man of action so admirably combined as they were in William Boyd. His most scholarly writing, as in *The Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau* (1911), for example, reveals the same enthusiasm, the same sense of life that filled his teaching and inspired his students for nearly forty years, and is imbued with the same intellectual integrity and moral conviction that made him such a force in Scottish educational affairs, notably as a member of the education committees of Dunbartonshire and Ayrshire, on the Glasgow and West of Scotland Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers, and in the Educational Institute of Scotland, of which he was President in 1920.

In him, rich native endowment received the finest educational nurture. At Kilmarnock Academy and Glasgow University his studies were both broad and deep in the best Scottish

tradition, and in the remarkable galaxy of his teachers were to be numbered Edward Caird, Lord Kelvin, Gilbert Murray and A. C. Bradley. He was fond, too, of recalling that among his first students, when he taught as an assistant to Henry Jones in the Philosophy Department in Glasgow, was A. D. Lindsay. Such was Glasgow University at the turn of the century, and it was from such men that Boyd's own mind took fire. Much as he drew, in his own thinking, upon the neo-Hegelianism of Caird and Jones, and greatly as Rousseau and later even Dewey influenced him, it was Plato who challenged and engaged him most deeply. No Platonist — his was too critical and independent a mind for discipleship — he yet never ceased to learn from the ancient master. His first book was *An Introduction to the Republic of Plato* (1904) and the last published during his life was *Plato for Today* (1962).

Between these events were packed 58 years of what he himself described as educational adventure — adventure in thought, word and deed. A student of philosophy all his working and thinking life, he became a distinguished educational theorist in his own right — yet

never just a theorist. A sound experience as class teacher and headmaster behind him, he continued right throughout his nearly 40 years of university teaching to engage in a range of other activities as diverse as the production of the 'Standard Spelling List' (1924), still widely used today, and the Clydebank Mutual Service Association in the dark days of unemployment in the Thirties. A brilliant lecturer, he was continually experimenting with new ways of teaching and examining, and was a pioneer user of group discussion methods long before they became fashionable.

Firmly rooted in the past — his monumental *History of Western Education*, first published in 1921, which has gone through five editions and been translated into many languages, and his *Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries* (1961) are genuine works of scholarship drawing upon original sources — he was yet the most ardent of educational pioneers. He introduced child guidance to Scotland, was active in the development of the movement for parent-teacher associations, stood firmly for graduate status for the teaching profession, was himself an original researcher in child study, in testing and in teaching methods, and was a powerful member of the Scottish Council for Research in Education.

Such a nature immediately found itself at home among the other pioneers being gathered together by Beatrice Ensor in the N.E.F. just after the end of World War I. His work for the Fellowship and interest in its affairs, continuing right up to his death, is well known and is commemorated in his *New Era* articles and in his editorship of 'Towards a New Education' (1930), a report of the N.E.F. World Conference at Elsinore. The Fellowship was for him not only a meeting place of kindred spirits but also a major instrument for that continual renewal and reform of education in which he saw man's greatest hope.

Unambitious for himself, he spared no efforts to secure wider acceptance of the importance of educational study. It was characteristic of him that he arranged for the royalties from his 'Standard Spelling List' to be paid into a fund for the foundation of a Chair

of Education in the University of Glasgow. When the Chair was eventually founded, the university decided that the sum of over £ 2000 which had accrued from this fund should be invested to provide the income for a William Boyd Prize in Education.

Possessed of a formidable intellect, his was yet always a philosophy of action. He was a practising Socialist and regarded himself as a practising Christian, although he had little time for the dogmas of either party or Church. He fought all his life for freedom, both social and personal. From the description that he was socially a radical and religiously a Presbyterian agnostic he would probably not have dissented, but such words and phrases cannot adequately characterise his passion for social justice and the deep personal warmth of his humanism. It was above all this warmth, this bigness of mind and heart that endeared him to his students. He gave them not only the vision and the encouragement needed for them to find a way of life for themselves, but his personal friendship as well. His most enduring memorial will surely be in the influence he has had in their lives, within Scotland and all over the world. This is as he himself would have wished it. His loyalties were at once intensely homely and also completely universal. He summed it up himself at the end of 'America in School and College' when he wrote:

'My desire for Scottish well-being is bound up with a desire for human well-being. In that sense I pray with greater comprehensiveness "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as in Heaven".'

Ben S. Morris

In the last week of my father's life, when he was deeply upset by his wife's illness, he said several times how good he felt our family relationships to be. This is true, and he was the person who mainly shaped the surroundings and circumstances in which such good relationships could develop. One way he brought and held us together was by his family letter. I went to college in 1929, and from then until two weeks before his death I had a letter every week. As other members of the family left home more carbons were

put in the typewriter until in the last years five copies were going out. They were splendid letters, reflecting whatever was uppermost in his mind at the time — education, politics, religion, current events, family activities — and always lively and full of interest. He used to say he sat down to the typewriter and the ideas took charge. This weekly sharing of his thoughts built a family unity and understanding in spite of many separations.

His attitude to us when we were growing up was another bond. It is easy to preach that respect for personality which lies at the root of all New Education doctrine, but sometimes it is hard to put it into practice in daily life. For my father there was no gap between preaching and practice. He did not interfere much: as they say in Clydebank, where we all went to school, 'We weren't brung up — we were put out to grow.' He never pushed any of us to excel in examinations, despite his own brilliant record, and did not show disappointment when at times our academic achievement was mediocre. Even when he did criticise he never nagged, nor tried more than very mildly to modify our ideas. He was just there 'on our side', loving and usually approving, always interested in everything we were doing: he took part in what we did from reading our comics to re-learning Greek.

As children we had no idea of his influence on education or of his scholarly qualities. He was very fond in later years of talking of the parable of the Talents, feeling that it described what he had done. He never thought of himself as brilliant, only as able to use to the full what gifts he had. He had a tremendous capacity for application and would work on and on at whatever he was doing until he had finished. Whether this was a gift or just the power to use his gifts I don't know, but it was one of his outstanding characteristics. This made him anxious at all times to help others realize their own gifts. Something else typical of him was his eternal cheerfulness and determination to think only constructively and positively about people and their actions. He wanted to conquer evil by concentrating on good. Whenever anyone went to see him, there he was with a beaming smile ready to

give his full attention and interest to all they had to say. Even in the past year, when one of his grandchildren had to write a thesis on pre-Renaissance church carving he started to find out all he could about the subject and asked to be driven about to see various churches so that he could discuss the subject intelligently with her.

Every part of his family life was good and happy. His wife Dorothy, who died on September 7th, made it possible for him to use his many talents by making a home full of intelligence, integrity and love. All of us, children and grandchildren, have been exceptionally fortunate in growing up in the company of William and Dorothy Boyd.

Isabel Boyd Cabot

With the passing of Dr. William Boyd, the N.E.F. has lost an old and staunch friend. To the day of his death at the age of 88 he was a most faithful correspondent and an indefatigable scholar and writer.

I first met him in 1918 when he took the Chair when I first lectured in Scotland under the auspices of *The Fraternity in Education* out of which N.E.F. was born. The Fraternity was only three years old then, and had little standing, and he was the first well-known educator to support it.

He believed firmly that education is the keynote in changing society, and felt that it should have priority in any State as regards both finance and the status of teachers. As a Calvinist brought up on the Shorter Catechism, he believed that spiritual values were fundamental and followed Plato in 'deducing the immortality of the Soul from the eagerness with which young men reached out for truth.' But, his spiritual values did not lead him to make narrow, sectarian professions. He was a strong opponent of authoritarian discipline and corporal punishment, and he believed that the inner potentialities of a child could best be developed by love, security, absence of fear, and a free atmosphere in home and school, to allow for the full expression of his creative abilities according to his nature.

From the inception of the Fellowship in

1921 to his death, he considered the N.E.F. to be 'an association of international importance' *, and was a member of the International Council.

In 1928 he attended the Fellowship's International Conference at Elsinore and edited the report under the title *Towards a New Education*. In 1934 he was one of a team of prominent educators who took part in conferences in S. Africa. His main contribution was on 'Education and World Re-Construction', but with his wide range of experience he gave papers on 'Religion and Education', 'Education in Home and School', 'Modern Trends in Educational Psychology', 'Examinations in the New Education' and 'The Training of Teachers'.

I have by me the manuscript of a book he

* History of Western Education.

intended to publish on *Education in the Twentieth Century* which he had asked me to read through. In this he devotes several chapters to modifications in twentieth century education brought about by the impact of progressive and experimental schools. He gives no mean credit to the Fellowship.

In a recent letter I received from him he said: 'My own idealistic philosophy and my conviction is that it is by ideas and ideals that human life is directed onwards.'

William Boyd was a loyal and delightful friend. I had the pleasure of staying in his home and saw how both he and his wife applied their ideals in home life and in the education of their children.

We shall all miss his wise counsel in directing the Fellowship.

Beatrice Ensor

William Burnlee Curry

Raymond O'Malley

There has been a considerable change in the climate of education over the last thirty years. A novel in which the central character teaches Primary arithmetic with real money and a real cash register, and in the lunch-hour plays records ranging from bugle calls to Scarlatti (*The Teachers*, by G. W. Target) can now expect enough readers to be published in Penguin form; I doubt whether there was a similar interest in 1930. The causes of the change have been numerous and complex. Amongst them has certainly been the influence of a handful of innovators, including W. B. Curry. His death in June after a London street accident leaves many of us feeling sad, both personally and as educators. He had achieved so much, and had it in him to achieve more yet.

Curry received a conventional grammar-school education and thrived on it; he was Head Boy, won his share of prizes, and so on. It was only when he began to read Whitehead, Russell and others that he came to question the assumptions, aims and methods

of that education. Years later he would sometimes quote, with amusement at such double-edged praise, the remark of a visitor to Dartington who said he would be more impressed if Curry himself had been a product of Dartington. No system, it seems, has all the hits or all the misses.

After reading Science at Trinity College, Cambridge, he taught for a few years at Gresham's and at Bedales, at both of which schools he learned from experience more of what he did and did not believe in. Then he taught in Philadelphia, and at an exceptionally early age was promoted to the headship of his school there.

Soon afterwards an opportunity came to him that comes to very few idealists: the opportunity to practise what he preached (as he himself phrased it) in something like ideal conditions. In general the 'progressive' schools at that time, however enthusiastic, were seriously handicapped by lack of money and equipment. Curry was chosen in 1930 to be in charge of the well-endowed, well-equipped 'progressive' boarding-school that Mr.

and Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst were planning to create at Dartington Hall. As there was only a small nucleus of a school in existence, he would be little constrained by existing traditions. There would be good buildings designed for their purpose, good equipment generally, good salaries. In such conditions it would be possible to give the new methods a fair trial; to see for example whether relative freedom from external pressures was compatible with high academic standards. All his life, Curry remained deeply grateful for this privilege of creating something new virtually from the foundations. His headship lasted from 1931 to 1957; in some ways difficult years — first the great Depression and the rise of the Nazis; then the War, when numbers dropped disastrously (for Devon was a likely invasion area); and finally the period of rapid inflation, when rising prices made nonsense of ordinary calculations. In spite of the satisfaction of work in the School itself, these outside worries helped in time to undermine his health.

It is not possible to assess in the space available here just what Curry achieved, and moreover, after twenty-five years of close partnership, I could not even pretend to impartiality about anything so controversial. There were parents who would not consider any other school for their children, and there were people who would have had the place closed down without a day's delay. In any case, the general history of the School is well known, and Curry's views have been expressed in *Education for Sanity* and in his section of *Dartington Hall, The History of an Experiment*. All I should like to do is to mention some of my main impressions over the intervening years.

My first staff meeting is an outstanding memory. I had had the good luck to be appointed to a post at the School straight from my training year. During that year I had seen, with distress, something of the vindictive fuss there can be over such matters as stealing in a school. At this first staff meeting the chief topic was a boy who was creating every kind of trouble that an energetic and very difficult boy can create. If my memory can be trusted,

there was not one word of exasperation or annoyance. It was clear that these people *liked* the boy, and knew intuitively (some of them rationally too) why he was the way he was; they devoted the afternoon to devising ways of making his life less bitter without unfairness to other children. My previous schools would just have exported the problem (to quote a favourite phrase of Curry's) without discussion. Curry himself took little overt part in the meeting, but it was clear that it would have been quite another thing in his absence.

In the next twenty-five years there were many such meetings, and they brought home to me what I came to regard as Curry's special claim to admiration: the depth of his sympathy with other people, especially the young, and those in trouble. By 'sympathy' I mean 'feeling with' not condolence; in imagination he went through their experiences, without preconception, and without a scrap of disapproval; he was too deeply moral a man to waste his time disapproving. You could tell him anything, however outrageous, and know that he would never turn against you. And he wouldn't tell you what to do about your trouble, because he didn't claim to know, and would never interfere; but you came to see gradually what the problem was, and what was *your* way out. Children who had been expelled from other schools sometimes changed radically under the influence of this kind of sympathy. Physical symptoms, such as asthma and even heart trouble, sometimes vanished, and a number of potential haters and destroyers now follow distinguished and constructive careers. Of course I am not suggesting unvarying success. There were certainly some children who, for one reason or another, did better after being transferred to another school, but (it seems to me) there were surprisingly few of them.

It was this kind of courageous sympathy that underlay the self-government of the School. Critics sometimes said that the Cabinet or Council or Moot were talked into deciding what Curry himself wanted them to decide, but it was not true. Decisions, arrived at after prolonged discussions, were sometimes such as he himself regretted, but he willingly accepted them. For one thing, the discussion

N.E.F.

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(he maintained) was generally more precious than the immediate outcome; children who have learned to weigh pros and cons, and to consider the opinions of others, will learn wisdom from their mistakes no less than from their successes, *providing matters of real consequence depend upon their decisions*. There may be more immediate efficiency where decisions are made by Authority, but in the long run the pupils are then left no more competent to make decisions. He was willing to leave matters of very considerable consequence to the children, even matters of life and death such as rules about swimming and they never let him down. Or hardly ever. He has himself given an account of the occasion when the self-government mechanism broke down because of some irresponsible newcomers, and he had to take over. Some children urged him to institute a period of rigorous Curry-archy, with arbitrary rules arbitrarily enforced, in order to arouse anger and promote a demand for renewed self-government. Though he was entertained by the suggestion, he simply hadn't it in him to be arbitrary. Self-government grew up again soon enough.

He never rewarded and never punished, in any ordinary sense of those terms. To offer a reward seemed to him an unwarranted interference in another person's life. Some pursuits do bring deeper and more lasting satisfaction than others, but that is a fact children must discover from experiment and experience. Reward, like punishment, merely establishes a habit, where what is needed is a deep conviction. From observation of what passes for study at universities, I am convinced that he was right.

In all the years that I was on his staff, Curry never observed one of my lessons, even after invitation. He felt that a lesson is a personal occasion, a give-and-take between teacher and class. The better the lesson, he believed, the more intimate it was likely to be; and so he was most reluctant to intrude. For my part, I should sometimes have welcomed the intrusion, especially in the early days of teaching. I remember with embarrassment my first School Certificate classes in English. We made some ambitious literary

explorations, and I devised ingenious exercises to sharpen perception. And I remember with gratitude the tact and gentleness with which Curry eventually suggested to me that before too long we should, perhaps, be getting round towards the examination syllabus. Somehow he always knew what was happening, though without visiting classes, and certainly without prying. A teacher, he felt, works from his own principles and is guided by his own conscience. All that a headmaster can do is to give him the best opportunities — or, in the last resort, ask him to leave. There was a price to pay, but experience over the decades fully confirmed his view.

He had a special kind of honesty. Visitors, however distinguished, must take us as they found us. We had no kind of warning, and there was no dolling-up. He himself would knock at doors genuinely at random when showing visitors around, and would make no apology for a room that looked like a workshop after an explosion, show no pride in one that was in its own way a work of art.

What attracted most adverse criticism in the school was, doubtless, the absence of religious observances and formal instruction. Since religious teaching that is worth anything must rest on agreed facts, and as there are no longer any generally agreed facts, he felt that to sanction religious teaching to children required an initial act of intellectual dishonesty. Yet to some people he himself seemed to be a deeply religious man. One outsider, a Quaker, who came to know Curry and the School very well, stated this in the most emphatic terms. I think I know what he meant. Curry's sense of reverence, his humility before anything true in other people, and his respect for the core of individuality in each person, — the most vulnerable child no less than the cultivated adult — left him with no desire to take short cuts and do God's work for Him. I sometimes find myself wishing that professed believers had an equal trust in their Maker.

He might have been a statesman instead of an educator; his interest in politics was at least equally strong; but he gave his life to education because he knew that politicians can do

little until education has made human beings a little saner. More than most people he was distressed by the Nazi outrages, Hiroshima and the many inhumanities of our age. I remember once finding him virtually in tears after our carol concert in the Great Hall, some months after the Munich crisis; as he had listened and watched, he had been overwhelmed with pity for these children, under such a shadow. Impersonal sadness of this kind, I have no doubt, played its part in the gradual breakdown of his health. After his retirement he lived abroad and then settled in Hampstead. He was slowly recovering his strength. His part-time teaching (brilliantly successful) in a London school had endeared him to many new pupils, and it seemed to his family and his friends that a fresh period of

creative work might lie ahead. It is just a fact of our time that such hopes are often ended by the arbitrariness of a street accident.

A purely personal footnote. *Education for Sanity* (published for the New Education Fellowship's International Book Club, by Heinemann) proves to be, in my experience, the most effective book for getting Education students to go beyond class-room technique to the fundamentals of education; to ask themselves the basic questions, whether or not they accept Curry's answers. But the book is out of print, and I have been unable to obtain a set of copies. If any readers of *The New Era* are willing to sell a copy, I shall be most grateful for a post-card at 17, Brookside, Cambridge.

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THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

The Ways and Means of Education

A. T. Barron. *Psychotherapist to the West Sussex Child Guidance Service and to the L.C.C. in Coombe Hall School*

THE publication in April this year of Dr Robert Shields' *A Cure of Delinquents* gives us a new chance to look at the trends in the special educational treatment of children who are deemed to be maladjusted, and to ask the question: Has the work done for these children produced any knowledge or technique that can be profitably applied in education more generally?

Until the work of Freud, the problem that faced the educator working with the dis-social or a-social child hinged on whether it was better to treat him harshly or gently. Children were thought to need 'training' and to this day in our Approved School system we have 'training schools' embodying these traditional ideas. The basic technique in 'training' is to induce the child to conform to a pattern of behaviour in the hope that this imposed 'discipline' will, with consistent application for a sufficient period, become part of the child's habitual mode of functioning. The benefits to children of this form of 'training' education varies. It seems probable that the more lenient methods of application are able to help more children than the harsher ones, but the whole business is a process of hit or miss with little knowledge of why one child responds and another does not do so to such a regime.

Aichhorn was the first head of a residential 'training' establishment to see that the work of Freud offered him the possibility of a release from this narrow and restricting concept of educating the a-social child. Aichhorn saw that a new approach could be made to the child by inducing him to form a passionate emotional attachment to the 'worker'. When the child could be induced (seduced?) to form

this attachment, the adult was enabled to intervene in the child's inner mental processes so that considerations of harshness or gentleness no longer applied. Instead of a concern with punishments, the problems became technical ones. All now depended upon the training, skill and personality of the 'worker'. The child was helped to make an inner adjustment, not forced into a show of adjustment to outer 'society'. The tension between the child and his environment, in this view, reflected an inner discord.

Aichhorn distinguished his method, which is essentially an application of psychoanalysis outside the psychotherapeutic 'session', by calling it re-education. This name is very apt in that it emphasises that the word education is being used in the sense of what 'the ordinary devoted mother' does for her infant, and that the worker rekindles this type of dependent relationship, this time to his own person, in order to re-do the work normally performed by the mother and family.

In passing, it should be noted that Aichhorn's therapeutic application of psychoanalysis — or perhaps more accurately his psychotherapeutic technique — is still the only one which is widely accepted as valid that does not use 'sessions'. His insistence that the key to the treatment of the dis-social was the same as the key to the treatment of the neurotic, that is, the use of 'transference' by

* Published by Heinemann, 21/-. This book, along with *Philosophy and Education* by Louis Arnaud Reid, 25/- and *Plato's Republic for Today* by the late William Boyd, 12/6, were advertised in the July-September issue of *The New Era* without name or address of publishers. It is hoped that these too will be reviewed or noticed in *The New Era*. Ed.

an analytically trained worker, has been a most important influence on all subsequent work. Typically, however, most English work has been a compromise. Most usually this compromise is to attempt to use the 'transference' without having psychoanalytically trained workers. This compromise has led to many brilliant failures.

Psychoanalysis has failed to provide an adequate training scheme for 're-educators' or 'environmental therapists' or whatever they should be called. Both voluntary and official bodies have failed to see the need for this training, so that the invaluable pioneer work of Aichhorn has not been adequately carried forward and extended — at least in England.

What has happened so often is that a worker has become convinced by his own experience that a straight up and down 'training' approach is inadequate. This dissatisfaction has led him to set up another reforming, pioneering voluntary school. The workers in the new venture then collect ideas from the literature, theories about human character, techniques from social case work and most often some intellectual appreciation of Aichhorn's contribution from the translation of his book *Wayward Youth*. None of us English workers could in fact do more than this, for nothing has existed in this country comparable with Aichhorn's training seminars for his fellow workers and students in Vienna, with the exception of the Q Camps Student-helper scheme, which was started in 1936 and abandoned in 1939.

So in England, work for the dis-social using non-traditional methods has passed largely into the hands of the untrained worker, while traditional 'training' techniques were being improved by using more and better qualified workers and by a cross fertilisation of ideas from the new methods. In particular the younger pioneers were taking traditional trainings and then being employed in traditional establishments which they tended to modify.

The lack of trained workers and the lack of a skilled professional body has caused an even greater degree of isolation of individual workers than the smallness of their numbers

and the geographical isolation of their establishments would warrant. Schools and hostels that attempted to base their work on the use of the child's emotional attachment to a worker have tended to come to untimely ends, partly through the methods being used by unanalysed and untrained workers. By 1951, the Association for Workers for Maladjusted Children was formed and has helped to overcome this isolation, but has not yet made a great contribution to staff training.

This is a simplified picture, tracing the development of Aichhorn's contribution through the various attempts to establish and maintain schools and hostels. But in fact the situation was never as clear cut as this. Psychoanalysis does not speak with one voice and other influences have stemmed from even this source. About the time that Aichhorn was working, the idea was current (which he never even thinks worthy of a mention) that if children are told the facts about adult genital sexuality they will be spared the shock of discovering these facts in a harmful way. It was hoped that sex education would take the sting out of sexual enlightenment and neurosis would disappear in a whole generation of children.

Another idea, current perhaps slightly later but largely concurrent, also stemmed from psychoanalysis and provided the theoretical basis of many progressive schools for normal children in the '30's. This is the theory that it is possible to bring up children in such a way that they will not have to make use of the mental mechanism of repression. This too is linked to ideas about the causation and treatment of neurosis. Neurosis in this theory is the result of tension between the conscious and the repressed unconscious, therefore if a child can be brought up without repression he is saved neurotic suffering. It would not be too great an exaggeration to say that the avoidance of mental ill-functioning and suffering has come during this century to be one of the major aims of progressive education.

But it was not only psychoanalysis that was contributing ideas to the educational pioneers and those helping the dissocial child. The political and social theories and dissatis-

factions of the times, the democratic revolt against authority also played a part. Indeed some workers saw these dis-social children as epitomising the social evils of the times. Yet others saw, in the 'communities' set up for them, experiments in finding a more equitable form of social order.

Whatever failures attended the personal lives of dis-social children in the 1920's, '30's and '40's, they succeeded in having a profoundly stimulating effect on a whole generation of educational workers, but the outcome of this thought and experience was not collected and assessed, and passed on from worker to worker or from one generation to another. To this day each new school or hostel for the dissocial tends to start from scratch, to repeat the difficulties others have learnt to avoid.

We were unprepared to meet the demands made upon us by the children during the war, and especially helpless to relieve the distress caused to children by the evacuation of our towns. Much horrible suffering was caused to children by this experience, which could have been partly relieved had there been an effective professional body of workers trained in re-education. At the same time, men and women were found in surprisingly large numbers who heroically met the needs of the war-uprooted children. In every 'reception area' hostels for 'unbilletable' children appeared. Psychiatric Social Workers did backroom work in the regional offices of the Ministry of Health, using their professional skills to support the overworked, physically and mentally exhausted people who were dealing with the children. A personal memory of that time is one that must be typical of many other people's experiences: for five months in 1942 my wife and I had charge of a hostel for 64 unbilletable boys housed in three adjoining but not internally connected houses. To care for this number of children, about twenty of whom were admitted and discharged each week, we totalled three adults; my wife, myself and one other — a staff: child ratio that excluded any time off at all. This was not exceptional at that time.

The war involved the State in the lives of

children in a way previously only undertaken by the voluntary societies. With peace, the State perpetuated its role in various Acts; the Education Act 1944, and the Children Act 1948 and the National Health Acts. The Home Office and the Ministry of Education, who had hardly been enthusiastic in their support of progressive educational experiment for the dissocial in the 1920's and '30's, inherited in the mid '40's the schools and hostels that had been set up to cope with the 'unbilletables' and the duty to deal with the dissocial child.

The Government has attempted to discharge the duties it has acquired under these Acts largely through the Local Authorities. But the complexity and number of its different Acts and the various sub-divisions of children within them rarely reflect valid clinical differences of need, but rather the various theories and ideas, social conditions and aspirations, which promoted the previous voluntary efforts. Thus a child whose life experience has disturbed his mental functioning may be dealt with under the Children Act, the Education Act or the Health Act not according to the precise type of malfunctioning or by his symptoms even, but largely by chance. This may not matter in many instances but in a fairly important minority of cases a child's problem can only be met by different kinds of provision made under separate Acts, applied, not one by one, but simultaneously. The attempts of the Officers and experts of different departments, Children's, Health and Education of the same Local Authority, to 'co-operate over a case' creates a top heavy and flat footed approach to these most subtle of human problems, and destroys the opportunity of using relationship as the mainspring of the help offered.

An area of relative sanity has been the way in which local Health and Education Authorities have co-operated under the 1944 Education Act. 'Maladjusted' pupils are 'ascertained' by child psychiatrists — 'deemed' to be in need of special educational provision by the County or Principal School Medical Officer and 'placed' in a special school or hostel by the Education officer. Such 'place-

ments' in the late '40's and '50's were largely in voluntary or independent schools which increased during this period to meet the new demand.

It is possible that the section of the Education Act which permits Authorities to provide special education for the maladjusted child would not have been widely implemented had it not been for the voluntary schools. Yet by and large the voluntary effort failed to meet the need and the tide is, over the years, turning against maladjusted children's being placed in voluntary and independent schools. Now more and more 'placements' are at local Authority schools and three State inspired staff training schemes are under way. How good is this provision for maladjusted pupils by the Local Authorities? Dr Shields' book is the first published account of a Local Authority's efforts, and we are entitled to ask: are they any better than the voluntary work they are replacing? The study of Dr Shields' book gives us some reason to be hopeful that the State will be able to do this work; yet it also contains hints that it has already shown itself incapable of doing it.

There are about fourteen published accounts of residential experiments (for want of a better term) in Russia, Europe and America. Almost invariably (Lyward and Lenhoff are among the exceptions) the publication of the account has marked the end of the experiment. This may look like sound scientific work; do the experiment and then write it up and publish. It is of course nothing of the kind; the books are often obituaries which emphasize the *unfulfilled* promise of the work. In the '20's and '30's it was shortage of financial support that cut short even the best conceived and executed 'experiments'. (e.g. Q Camp's *Hawkspur Experiment*.) It is therefore surprising to find from the first published account that a Local Authority's experiment also suffered premature death. This cannot be because of lack of funds in the sense that we in the voluntary field knew lack of funds in the '30's, when the work could go on only so long as the staff could last out without salary and the grocer would continue to supply food on credit! The reason why Dr Shields' Bred-

inghurst no longer exists in the form he has described must be because the responsible Authority did not wish to continue to help its 'maladjusted' boys by his method, or because the methods used at the school were not proving satisfactory.

The fragmentation of a child's needs is reflected in the Bredinghurst experiment. This school conceived its function as providing 'sessional' psychiatric treatment and an environment in which this 'sessional' treatment could be effective. The function of education was reduced to co-operating with and supporting 'treatment'.

This is clearly a break with the work done in this field during this century. The idea which has until now been consistently applied is that education (the environment) could be manipulated in such a way that the a-social child became social and the mentally ill-functioning child could come to function well. In other words it was conceived that education for these disturbed children should make such a positive use of the environment that the new healthy life experience would set going a natural tendency towards health. Or in yet different words, if the child be provided with positively good life experiences, these may correct the damaging ones that he has previously suffered either in reality or fantasy. Thus if a child thought he was being locked up — the openness of the school was brought firmly and repeatedly to his notice. If he had ideas of being poisoned the communal nature of the cooking and feeding arrangements were emphasized to him. When he thought he was being attacked — it was shewn and proved to him how non-punitive and non-authoritarian his new home was.

Reality was used to correct fantasy and the most important aspect of reality was seen to be the relationship of child to adult and adult to child, together with the other facets of emotional experience.

This positive environment has been used largely for the adolescent i.e. in a period of development when life forces are strong, though at Bredinghurst School they preferred the younger child. This use of the environment as a correctional life experience does not

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exclude the use of sessional therapy. Aichorn thought such re-education was a good way of preparing the a-social child for sessional psychotherapy and this is a view I personally hold. Others have called in the aid of 'sessional' psychotherapy to help a child over specific problems, e.g. lying, stealing, bedwetting, this therapy being provided concurrently with environmental help. Other uses of 'sessional' therapy have been to enable a very sick child who would not normally be able to do so to benefit from environment therapy, and to help a child to free himself from such an environment at the end of his period of residence; as a means of judging the working of such an environment; and assessing the impact or effect it was having on a child.

But from all these uses of 'sessional' therapy in the service of environmental or educational help, the Bredinghurst experiment departed and broke new ground.

The reason for this departure is not explicitly examined by Dr Shields, yet he makes many adverse comments on the work of others who have used the environmental approach. I suspect that Bredinghurst was conceived as an official compromise between traditional 'training' and psychological ideas. But it is not this suspicion which prevents me from making a dispassionate evaluation of the Bredinghurst experiment, it is the incompleteness of the information we are given. Basing a judgment on Dr Shields' book, it seems that the value of education at Bredinghurst was mainly to throw light upon the inner mental lives of these children, and so make the individual sessional therapy more effective. Some of Dr Shields' observations in this respect have an outstanding quality — but they teach us nothing about the *education* of disturbed or of normal children.

This criticism of Dr Shields' work brings us to the question posed in my first paragraph. Have the methods and ideas used in helping the a-social child any relevance to the normal child?

The public concern with the problems of adolescence (see Dr Winnicott's paper in *The New Era* last month, October 1962); the

nation-wide epidemic of 'school phobia'; the fact that *no* form of secondary education has made an advance comparable with that made this last 50 years in Primary education, — all this points to the need to ask this question.

There has been quite a lively concern with relationships in secondary education, the teacher's relationship to the class, parent-teacher relationships, and so on, but little with 'attachments'. Indeed the only attachments, in the sense recognized in re-education, that are ever mentioned are of the sort that are frowned upon: the boy and girl attachments and the 'pashes' that a child has on a teacher or elder pupil.

Great strides in infant and primary education followed the work of Susan Isaacs and others, who showed how the teacher could inherit some part of a role in the child's mental life previously played exclusively by the parents, and could offer the child a model of ego-functioning, together with the new gratification that comes when learning skills replace more primitive forms of instinctual satisfaction. The primary school has acquired the ability to help the child to take a biologically determined step, away from gratification in a primitive way in direct relationship to the parent towards more civilized modes.

That the secondary school has much the same aim as the primary school is clear. Yet the same methods cannot be applied. The primary school helps the child through the stages of a phase of strong instinctual maturation to achieve a more orderly mode of discharge of its passionate energy at a time when the ego seeks emotional tidying-up. The secondary teacher has no such luck. He takes over the child when the recession in the pressure of 'drives' is giving way to a turmoil of emotion in the first stages of a developmental phase. Traditional education tends to try to hold the fort against the incoming tide of sexuality, to provide an island of reason in an emotional sea. Passion can have a devastating effect upon intellectual functioning, and if a school did not tend to overvalue intellect and devalue feeling it would find it hard to do its job.

Those schools — usually Grammar schools

— which firmly value intellectual above emotional development do obtain the sufficient allegiance of certain pupils, who in their teens use this mechanism of over-valuation of intellect to devalue their own sexuality and to divert energy to the academic life. Some carry this identification with one aspect of the teacher's personality to the point where they follow their models and become secondary (usually grammar) school masters. Almost all identify with the school's 'middle-class' culture. In such children it is clear that the basis for their successful use of their intellectual endowment is a process of identification with a highly valued (loved) master or institution. Where secondary education seems to be most successful it is in fact using the same psychic mechanism in the pupil which is the basis of the re-educational approach to the dissocial child!

It would seem that we know how to operate the mechanisms of identification successfully for the most overtly emotional and the most overtly intellectual sections of our youth, but have failed to find a way of doing so for the majority of those who are not maladjusted or intellectually outstanding.

The trend at the moment in secondary education seems to be towards providing a wider range of certificates. There can be little doubt that this device will enable more children to be helped through identification with the teacher's intellect. The psychological importance of these certificates is that they are symbols of identity. All the children who successfully identify with people who value certain aspects of adult life are awarded a certificate, so that the certificate and the school have come to be regarded in our society as providing the measure of the man in much the same manner in which previously the family from which he came provided this measure.

It is a problem to find a way of obtaining the adolescent's identification in a manner which is acceptable to our social conscience. This is a limitation imposed on teachers from which the idols of the mass media are free. What then does our social conscience demand in this respect? That the educational process is truly in the child's best interests — that is

that it tends to develop the whole man as well as being in the short-term interests of society: that the identification, the sense of oneness with a group, is not achieved at the expense of another group; that the education should enable the child to value his cultural inheritance and to contribute towards its future.

In the best examples of academic identification and of re-education those social considerations are brilliantly fulfilled, but the second-rate school attempts to sharpen its own identity by devaluing another group or groups. Thus one school for maladjusted children used to bar the door to all unknown visitors, who were automatically assumed to be hostile to the school's 'freedom'. And some grammar schools foster a feeling of superiority towards the secondary modern and some public schools to the grammar. However conscientious the masters are in an 'academic' school to avoid using this device of devaluing an 'out' group to enhance the unity of the 'in' group, the educational system has still to find a way of maintaining its standards without assigning the majority of children to an 'out' group where they cannot yet be induced to form human attachments to teachers of sufficient strength to lead to identification with them.

Take the example of two boys, one with say an I. Q. of 115 at a grammar school, the other with an I. Q. of 103 at a secondary modern school. The first boy has always taken school work seriously, the second has done the minimum to get by without trouble. At the age of 13 both boys form an attachment to their form masters. They both work to capacity to please him, both begin to copy some of his personality traits and habits. Both feel elated when praised by their idol, both feel devastated when he withholds praise or censures them. The grammar school boy can use this 'transference' as a source of energy in his work by becoming like the master, taking the same subjects at the same or an even higher academic level. He is able to resolve the emotional problem created by his attachment by making himself as good as or better than his model. A passive wish to be loved is converted to an active competitive experience.

What such avenue is open to the secondary modern boy, assuming he cannot for some reason work for the necessary certificates? He is tied to the more infantile form of dependent relationship and can only wind up the relationship by repudiating or displacing it, by turning positive feelings into negative ones, or by attempting to induce or seduce the master or mistress into giving him direct instinctual gratification. This means that energy which is used by the grammar school child to further intellectual powers is in the secondary modern child withdrawn from the area of learning and from school, re-directed either into seeking direct primitive sexual satisfaction or in identifications outside the school.

There is an important difference between the use of transference and identification in the grammar and the 'maladjusted' schools: in the former the whole process is largely unconscious to the staff as well as to the children. So intent are grammar school staffs on diverting energy into intellectual channels that they tend to be unaware that emotions are involved at all. In the school for the maladjusted child the whole process is more conscious to the staff and sometimes even to the child as well.

It is possible that the conscious manipulation of the youthful tendency to identify with adults could lead to a further forward step in secondary education comparable to that made in the last 50 years in primary education. The activity methods of the primary schools are ways of harnessing the child's psychic energy to the educational process. Can the

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conscious use of the psychic mechanisms that lead up to and include that of identification. provide the Secondary school with the means of channelling the psychic energies of the adolescent child along culturally important routes? And can schools be staffed sufficiently generously with sufficient diversity of talent for each child to find the 'model' he needs?

The demand of the boy or girl who is unable to make identification in the secondary school to be away from it all and 'out at work' is a demand to be provided with an object with whom to identify. The recent success of secondary modern schools in enabling boys and girls to stay on is almost wholly confined to those children who are able to make some identifications. This is symbolised by working for some examination.

It would seem that education is at its best when it has a positive function to fulfil. It sinks to the second-rate when it is conceived as being secondary to something else — prevention of neurosis or delinquency, supportive role to psychotherapy or means of social advancement. In searching for this positive role of education we now no longer think in terms of suppressing the child's instinctual drives and training their mangled remnants, but in seeking to help him to grow up by the most subtle observation and acute awareness of his needs, and by helping him to find a means of discharging his instinctual drives by providing him with opportunities for further personality development and participation in his cultural inheritance.

Teaching as Therapy

Caroline Nicholson

WHEN I am asked what I do for a living and I say that I teach, people still sometimes reply, 'You don't look like a school ma'am.' We have a long way to go yet before schooling loses its narrow, punitive and stultifying associations. This was underlined for me recently at a conference when a question was asked from the floor: 'Should not schools for maladjusted children be run by the Ministry of Health?' It was borne in on me that the skills and satisfactions of real education, and its healing possibilities, are still a rare experience; and that it is important to convey what is meant by 'real education' — for it would be a great loss to children who are already in difficulties if the *educational* content of their school experience were reduced; they, even more than the brave and the bright, need this nourishment, and offering it to them is no simple undertaking.

The exchanges that take place during the teaching process can offer a readily acceptable basis for growth, confidence and friendship. The awakened interest, the foothold in achievement, the grasp of reality, and the

satisfactions of communication are achieved, even by very sick children, if the relationship is more than clinical.

Of course there are difficulties about being a teacher and a psycho-therapist at the same time, and they need to be recognized. I have already discussed this at some length¹ and will repeat only the two points which seem to me to be central:

1) 'Transference' — of feelings associated with someone emotionally important on to another, whether a psycho-therapist, a doctor, or a teacher — happens all the time and in all kinds of situations. The confusions of feeling which can result cannot be dealt with merely by controlling the circumstances, but only by constant willingness to observe and explore. This applies in all cases — but cannot be avoided if one forsakes the security of one single role.

2) There is an important difference between being authoritative and being authoritarian. Authority implies confidence; authoritarianism implies a disguised lack of confidence. The former quality is necessary in both the classroom and the consulting room, the latter is inappropriate in either.

¹) Nicholson, C., 'Classroom and Consulting Room' New Era. Vol. 39, No. 7.

Jane was in her mid 'teens when she came to me for tuition through an Educational Agency. Looking at the memo they sent me, I see it carries a note: 'This is *almost* remedial coaching.' It was all of that.

Jane had been out of normal life for over two years; much of this time she had been in hospital abroad. She was diagnosed as a paranoid-schizophrenic when she returned to this country and was described by the clinic she attended as 'not quite ill enough to go to hospital but too ill for anything else.' (It struck me at the time that one of the curious features of this experience was that a girl with this history, and attending a hospital clinic, had reached me through an agency. The newly formed National Bureau for Child Care may make good this lack of cross reference.)

We worked together over a period of nineteen months — the equivalent of six school terms. We kept school terms because this gave her more feeling of being like a child actually at school. She came twice a week for a two-hour 'Tutorial', except for the last term when she came only once a week — but by that time she was already well on her way.

I was to teach her 'general subjects'. On the face of it there was no possibility of teaching her anything. We began work in the Autumn and at the outset her appearance and manner were bizarre in the extreme. She would sit screwed up on a chair turning her head away, covering her face with her hands or her hair; talking to herself, giggling and sighing repeatedly. Her attention span, if I could engage her real attention at all, was about sixty seconds! At the same time she was excessively anxious and appeasing, passive and mechanical. She was more like a robot than a person.

My aim was to try and get into touch with her, and so to help her get back into touch with the world around her, by using *teaching* principles and practice; and the discovery (if it can be called a discovery, but it must have been done before) was the coincidence of the schizophrenic's special needs with the educational needs of ordinary children. I began by thinking about Jane's special needs.

The world outside meant little to her except in terms of her own wishes — so we must

contrive to find areas of interest which began with her, which were relevant to her, and then hope to proceed outwards setting up connections between herself and the external world.

She would need experience to achieve this greater grasp of reality which, as readers of E. M. Fisher will remember, is 'what you *do* when you feel². She would need stimulation to engage her interest, to awaken her from her apathetic passivity; and she would need a sense of achievement, however faltering and small, if she were to proceed at all.

It is perhaps heavy-handed to point out the parallel between the principles which I arrived at by considering Jane's particular needs and those applying in good teaching generally. I am doing so because the world is, fortunately, not made up of pedagogues, and we tend to assume, wrongly, that what is obvious to us is obvious to everybody. This coincidence of needs and approach became more and more striking as we went on.

I grasped at any straw of interest or initiative and tried to build with it. One day Jane brought a collection of cigarette cards with her; her first contribution. They were important to her and we made the most of them. There were Animals, Places, and a miscellaneous selection. The Places were particularly good. We began with a routine of sorting out which she found reassuring; we ended by doing a project on Holland; but that was months later. In between we moved from the safe, more or less mechanical arranging of cards in categories, through identifying the places from their visual characteristics, to much looking-up in atlases, encyclopaedia, reference books of all kinds — Wordsworth's '*Michael*' (*The Lake District*), mediaeval castles feudalism, monasticism, Wagner (*The Rhine*); baboons, the Royal Family, the Odyssey and the Peninsular War (*Gibraltar*); the possibilities of any trail are endless.

To the same end I followed up any remark Jane made about the television news. I kept any newspaper article or picture which tied in with this and gave it to her to cut out. Jane brought a *Daily Telegraph* publication which

*) New Era. Vol. 38. p. 142.

her grandmother had given her: *A Hundred Years of News*. We made a time-chart for the period and filled it in with the events *she* chose and which we talked about (Lenglen Wins at Wimbledon. Assassination at Sarajevo etc.). She found the present more difficult. We tried the B.B.C.'s current events broadcasts and always she wanted to run away and would try to retreat behind her renewed grimaces and other strangenesses. I was firm about this. I would not turn it off. I dragged her into the world around her by every art and device I could think of. It was hard for both of us but it always worked. I remember the broadcast on Refugees. She fled from that. I persisted. She stopped grimacing and muttered that she just didn't like people enough, she hoped they'd all die! It was more or less straightforward after she had brought this out. She ended that session by making her own notes after a real discussion. The speed with which she would come round from catatonic-like behaviour to penetrating and perceptive intelligence *if one put one's finger on the sticking point* was always astonishing.

The experience of external reality, and the world of the senses, was a hazardous venture for Jane. She was too frightened to explore, to feel, to touch. Months later I remarked that she was shivering. She noticed too that she was, and said: 'I never knew before if I were too hot or too cold: *now I feel the atmosphere more.*' She picks up an apple from my lawn and tentatively turns it round; next week she fondles and strokes a neighbour's dog. I send her off by herself into the garden (which is large, fortunately, for London) to collect a plane leaf, a blackberry leaf; she returns animated, she has sought and found them all. Each experience is enormous for her. She says they were not allowed to touch plants at her school, that she didn't want to, was afraid of spoiling what she touched. It isn't necessary to interpret; it is enough to help her discover that she is not as destructive as she feels she is, then the doors to further exploration begin to open. One afternoon we spend crawling up and down the stairs measuring treads and rises; this is Arithmetic. It is Jane coming to terms with the external world. For her, there

is great challenge in making an accurate measurement, there is a great gap for her to cross, but she does it. She gets very angry when she bumps her knuckles against reality — but she is very pleased later when she manages to calculate distances on maps and to trace routes.

There were other ways in which teaching Jane was like teaching a young child. She could only give her attention for a few seconds at a time to begin with, and then her thoughts would go sliding off into her fantasy and her eyes told me I had lost her. To gain, and extend, her capacity for staying with me I followed every hint or flicker of interest, dropped it, picked it up again, or followed another. Whither she went, I went too. It was like sailing in a zephyr. As she grew stronger and her contact more sustained I sometimes pressed her to concentrate, varied the approach but kept her to the objective, and so she gradually extended her range.

We covered a remarkable amount of ground in this freely-associative manner. Jane talked about animals and next time we went to the zoo. Her response was immediate. At the zoo we saw owls and this reminded her of an incident in childhood. She projected her feelings generously on to the animals, and the experience was a stimulating mixture of observation and reawakened feeling. We watched television Science — that being all I could offer in that line — and ran up and down in the garden with trays in front of us to feel the air pressure. Jane was shy at first but eventually followed me in this and other physical demonstrations. She nearly curled up with hysterical giggling the first time I stood up to demonstrate planetary movement, but her exhibitionistic problems and desperate selfconsciousness mercifully grew less the more she got used to my rather physical methods. In the summer she had begun to paint; after the first great diffidence she painted freely. She made a picture she called 'Brainwash' in which she expressed all the hot anger of her confusion. This was a landmark. She made a Christmas decoration — which her parents probably thought was a waste of her time and their money but it was of great

importance and personal value to Jane; her hands had created instead of spoiling. She painted me a Christmas card with a coloured drawing of her decoration. The solitary candle was alight.

There is always a danger that so fluid an approach may become fragmentary, that there will be no feeling of achievement, no 'follow through'. Jane's self-confidence needed all the sense of achievement she could get and I tried to arrange everything with this in mind. While I followed her will o' the wisp interest I tried from the start to ensure some continuity and consistency, as when we began each period with a cigarette card session for several weeks on end. Amongst other things we kept a record of what we had done which we reviewed from time to time, and we were always referring back to earlier lessons, making connections whenever they existed.

I never marked her work but I always remarked upon it. At first she expected only punishment or reward, and assessment out of 'ten'; she thought that teachers were there to make you work. The strain of this had all been too great in the past. Gradually she came to a truer assessment of herself and a real sense of value and achievement. The difficulty was to give her enough but not too much. The balance was very sensitive. If she did nothing herself she made no progress, but if the anxiety provoked by independent action or observation were too great, she retreated. It is here, in the sense of achievement, the foothold in reality, that the teaching approach has so much to offer. When self-respect is raised all other things may become possible.

If there was a turning point in Jane's story it came in the spring. In March I made notes: 'She rarely turns her head away now, hides her face or grimaces. She is progressively more relaxed and normal in manner.'

The following month she wrote a poem called *What Maketh Man?*

'Is it freedom maketh man?

Not quite. What maketh man?

Follower and wanderer, gets out of his bower
Beating the divine to try out his power.

Just mine.

Nothing maketh man: but from his bower,

Bestook with power

His feelings so glorious to behold

To find the field of rest

Feeling magnificently blessed,

He runs abide the stream

Towards the freedom of his dream . . .'

It was quite a long poem. Jane was astonished and touched that I understood it, or thought I did. Everyone else had thought it was 'mad'. Perhaps it was. What are poets? Anyone who reads children's writings much would, I feel sure, take Jane's poem in his stride. Anyway, it was a revelation to her that I thought I knew what she meant. Her whole manner and attitude changed most dramatically. She became lively, alert, her eyes sparkled, she asked questions, she was in full communication! It was an extraordinary moment — the emergence of this 'real' Jane. We talked about poetry; 'people who can't understand it', she said, 'are like people who are flat on the note'; for Jane, the pain of the square peg in the round hole had been intense and distorting.

Each good experience promoted another. Every gain in her work strengthened her and reawakened her 'spirit': I asked Jane what she meant by this and she said, 'My zest and my vigour'. It was two months after our exchange about the poem (my big apple tree was in full bloom) when she ventured on this. She began by talking about her nursery school. She had been three when she went there and she had just recaptured her feelings about it. She remembered the heat and feeling happy — in fact 'the feelings and memory are stronger sometimes than what is happening now. It is like a ghost.'

'What is like a ghost Jane?'

'There is something that tells you that you are in this life and not in the other — when you are in the other life you can't be here too so *something must take your place*.' This then is the ghost, the automatic creature that I have to deal with when Jane is not in touch with me. We talk more about being in 'the other life'. 'It is like a wind carrying you there. It is kind of pleasant. It is nicer than what I had around me most of the time.' But towards the end of the afternoon she says, 'Does escaping

in your thoughts mean you have no contact with yourself?

We had a very lively period after this talk. From my notes I see we ranged in content from Columbus to Tolstoy to the Grand Canyon. She was so much more in touch in voice, expression and over-all attitude. She would take initiative, fetch an atlas without being asked, do project work on her own at home, volunteer information, say what she wanted to do, laugh and cry; so we went on, until, by the New Year, fifteen months after we had begun, the change was so great that it carried over to other situations and other relationships. At that time her psychiatrist wrote to me, 'She seems much brighter and livelier than I can ever remember seeing her.' By the following Autumn she was able to join a Day Hospital, to travel there daily by herself and to take part in all kinds of group activities. When it looked as though the transition would be smoothly made Jane stopped working with me, but the last piece of writing she did before moving on contained the whole story. She was writing about *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.

'It is full of fantasy. He is telling a story which has an inner meaning. The mariner sets out on a voyage of life. He sees a storm and there becomes a change in the surroundings.

They are amidst the depths of depression when the sight of an albatross cheers them up. They take it as a sign of good luck and partly

because they wanted different company from their own.

The mariner kills the albatross through pure impulse due to his own feelings and this act of destruction is followed by fear and illusion, 'as idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean'.

They were craving for a quench of thirst and yet water engulfed them. Then there follows an apparition due to his wretchedness. *He is without feeling but overcome by emotion.* (My italics.)

Many of his friends and crew die from thirst and curse him as they die, — you can't do anything more horrible than to take something away from people who are unable to do anything without the albatross.

The mariner gets out of this plight when he saw the fishes (living things) gleaming in the water and they passed through his heart — (you have to have respect for somebody before you can respect yourself) — he had to love — he needed somebody, had to know that somebody was on his side, gave him — made him have his feelings once more.'

This was not an easy experience for either of us. I may have made it sound too glib, superficial and easy in trying to tell it briefly. It would not have happened without good communication and cooperation between the hospital clinic, the Day Hospital and myself.

Most of the time during the early months was spent trying to translate Jane's apparent-

Let every child be a discoverer!

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ly meaningless jumble of words, on the assumption that they meant something however deep or disguised. It took, for example, nearly an hour to discover that when she talked of 'A.M.P. and the nautiloid in the middle of the body,' she had seen and partially digested a television science programme and was trying to tell me about 'D.N.C. and the nucleus in the middle of the cell.' Nor could I have interpreted her if her intelligence had been less keen and her feeling for words less telling. 'Friend. One near to you in heart. Relative. One near in blood. Neighbour. One who lives near.' This was her capacity, on occasions, to distinguish concepts, so that I knew that there was gold hidden in the confusion and believed it to be still accessible. I came to see her confusion as an elaborate disguise. An excessive fear of envy and an excessive fear of punishment held her in her limbo. What she responded to, as who does not, was the reassurance that her own real feelings and thoughts were communicable and acceptable. At least I take this to be so because in a further writing

on *The Ancient Mariner* she said: 'He looses (sic) consciousness because he cannot have much retaliation. (He wants to be active like the ship but he feels he cannot carry on and needs more compassion). He feels he has to earn his way out. (He loses contact because everything is sudden; overwhelming sights, sound and feeling). He cannot find a way out of *not showing what he likes*'. (My italics.)

And in a later poem called *Victory* she wrote:

'How slow time treads
How slow a pace
Amidst a frozen waste;
But then the sun shines through again
Revealing once more its magic lust
Putting warmth where once there was a
silent tongue
And so letting life shine through again'.

Jane comes to tea from time to time. The last time she came she told me she had had the thought: 'If a little shell which gets beaten by the surf can survive, why can't I?'

Schools and Education in Israel

Ruth Lachmann, Copenhagen

HAVING survived her bloody struggle to establish herself as a nation, Israel's fight for economic development has had to be pursued under the heavy pressure of immigration. Linked to the efforts to develop its economy, the young state is fighting another battle of vital importance to its future: the struggle to unite the Israelis into one community.

The Composition of the Population. According to the first census of November 1948, only one third of the Jewish population of Israel had been born in Palestine. Ten years later, largely owing to immigration, the population had tripled. But figures illustrate only one side of the problem. In order to realize its dimensions, we must consider for a moment the fantastic human mosaic of which Israel is composed.

There are the pious Jews of Jerusalem. Their lives are spent in Messianic expectation

and studies of the Torah: There are the Marxist pioneers of the Kibutzim who have turned a land of rocks, swamps and deserts into a home and have created an existence worthy of human beings. The hundreds of thousands who fled from the Nazis left modern European urban societies and settled on the edge of the Arab desert. Most of them were unacquainted alike with the Zionist pioneering spirit and with traditional Jewish orthodoxy. Other hundreds of thousands are among that small remnant of Jews who survived the twelve years of Nazi hell. Via refugee camps in Europe they reached the only country in the world which made no conditions, asked no questions about age, education, spiritual and physical state — the only country ready to receive every single one as a worthy and welcome citizen with equal rights.

Hundreds of thousands have come in from

Arabic countries of Asia and North Africa. Some of them, Jews from Iraq, belong to families who have lived 2,500 years in the country, bearers of the changing cultures of Mesopotamia. The Yemenites from Southern Arabia had lived in isolation, maybe for millenia — as primitively as their ancestors — the Patriarchs. The daily lives of the Jews from the mountain caves in Tripolitania even compared with those of a poor Arab proletariat appeared miserable. Finally there are Jews who have come to Israel from the communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Among Israel's two million Jews lives a minority of 230,000 Arabs. They too, are a highly heterogenous group: Bedouins from Negev, farmers from Galilee, City Arabs from the slums of Jaffa and from the highly cultivated bourgeoisie of Haifa. But the minorities have this in common: their ties of family and friendship connect them culturally and nationally with people across the borders of Israel — people whose leaders have sworn that the state of Israel must be destroyed and the Jews thrown into the sea.

One must possess a vivid imagination to visualize what it means to offer every human being in this heterogenous community equal freedom and civic responsibility from the very moment he or she settles in Israel.

The Basic Principles of the State The Declaration of Independence of May 14th 1948, states: 'The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the In-gathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel, it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex, it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture.'

These are proud words. A straight line connects through the ages the Old Testament prophets with the requirements of a modern democracy. In her hour of birth, standing between British mandate and national independence, young Israel accepted the challenge of being true to the spirit and demands of a

democratic ideal — a challenge which to this day hardly any society has lived up to. Rights and responsibilities in a democracy require education. In Israel more than in any other place the school becomes the decisive factor in this education.

The Schools in the Mandatory Period The English Mandatory Administration did not establish free compulsory elementary education in Palestine. In the Mandatory Period the Jewish community had its own schools. Three trends were developed: (a) Schools, somewhat like the Western European prototype; these were attended by more than fifty per cent. of the children, (b) Religious (orthodox) schools (c) The labour schools of Zionist-Marxist leanings. The Arabian children who attended school were taught in Mission Schools or schools financed by the British.

Israel's Elementary Education The Declaration of Independence guaranteed free compulsory schooling for all children. This was also laid down, at the initiative of Ben Gurion, in the state's first Law of Education of January 1949, which affects children from 5 to 13 years of age.

The 5-year old must attend municipal kindergarten and the 6- to 13-year old the 8-year elementary school. The three-fold provision of schools from the Mandatory Period was maintained by the Jews until 1953, when, on the initiative of the Prime Minister, a law regarding national education was successfully passed. The aim of education was laid down as: 'the building up of a society which rests upon freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual help and love of mankind.' Parents can choose between the 'general State School' (providing in 1958 for two thirds of the Jewish pupils) and 'the Religious State School' (attended by a quarter of them). Both are free. The schools are run by local authorities under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The teachers are paid by the state. Parents may send their children to private schools, if the schools have been recognized by the state as efficient as regards teachers, instruction and classrooms. In the state schools political indoctrination is prohibited.

The law does not distinguish between

Jewish and Arab schools, but as a rule children of each group attend separate schools. In Israel's state schools for Arabs the language of instruction is Arabic. From the 4th grade Hebrew is taught for four hours a week, from the 5th or 6th grade English in addition. Girls and boys are often taught separately, while the Israeli schools are usually co-educational. 'Education for girls is evil', I was once told by a sheik in the Negev desert, who was considered a pioneer among the Negev Bedouins as regards agricultural techniques. According to the statistics of 1960 only half the Arab girls for whom compulsory education is provided go to school — a progress from the 15 per cent, of 1948. For boys, the corresponding figures were 65 per cent. in 1948 and 95 per cent. in 1960.

In the Jewish schools approximately one third of the time in the general schools (still more in the religious schools) is spent on Jewish subjects: Hebrew, the Bible, and Jewish history. A common cultural background has to be created. In the homes of many immigrants the children teach their parents Ivrit (modern Hebrew). 'The mothers learn the mother-tongue from the children', the Israeli says. Many families know nothing about Jewish tradition, and children from Jewish-conscious homes may be ignorant of or hostile toward religious traditions that deviate from their own, or toward the irreligious.

From the 6th year in the elementary schools a foreign language is taught — mostly English, occasionally French or Arabic. As for the rest, the curriculum corresponds to the Western European pattern.

The pupil's council plays an important role in the life of the school. The elected representatives have to even-out temperamental differences in class and stimulate a lively school community. In this connection the parents' associations need mention. The parents choose a school council which, in dynamic Israel, may have a lot of influence, not least upon the adjustment-process of those parents who have never gone to school themselves. In many schools a daily hot meal is served, for a certain health standard is essential to good schoolwork. But the daily

lunch also teaches the children table manners. I visited a school in Beersheba, the largest city in the Negev Desert (in 1958 it had 40,000 inhabitants) where the elder pupils took turns at cooking and setting tables. They learned basic table manners. Many Oriental homes have no table and the children have never sat at table, so they must be taught this too. The schools must see to it that children of certain Oriental groups do not remain unacquainted with the way of life of the rest of the population. Jews from West and East on the soil of Israel not allow a relationship to creep in which might resemble that of colonial peoples towards so-called underdeveloped peoples. Hygiene and dress also require attention. Much tact is required from his teachers to prevent a child from an Afro-Asian home from feeling, as a result of his schooling, superior to his parents or ashamed of his own home.

Here we have the main reason why kindergarten for 5 to 6 year olds is obligatory and therefore free: the younger the child, the easier his adjustment to a new social pattern. At least 50 per cent. of the 3 and 4 year olds go to kindergarten, even though parents have to pay for this. The government, the municipality and the various voluntary and philanthropic organizations contribute funds to help badly-off families to cover kindergarten fees.

The aims and structure of the schools, their economic basis, is easy enough to describe. But how was all this established in a country with ever-recurring and inescapable demands on all fronts at the same time?

How did they get teachers and classrooms? The figures from 1948-49 compared to the figures from 1958-59 show that the number of kindergarten children have more than tripled (from 25,000 to 78,000). The number of elementary school children increased from 98,000 to 343,000 in those ten years, and was approximately 396,000 in 1961.

The *teaching staff* has quadrupled during those ten years. A teacher's certificate to the elementary school can be obtained after two years at a teacher's training college following the matriculation examination. In 1953, when the National Education law came into effect, half the teachers were unqualified. Either they

did not know the language sufficiently or they lacked knowledge of Jewish culture or their pedagogical training was inadequate. I met in Kyriat Yearim (a home for children with adaption difficulties) a 16 year old Moroccan boy, whose strongest wish was to go back to Morocco and murder his teacher. In Morocco sixty children in one classroom were made to memorize the Torah; they did not understand the text and those who got stuck were beaten with a cowtail. In Morocco evidently a useless person could become a school teacher; in Israel this is impossible.

Nevertheless, in 1953 the Israeli schools had to content themselves with almost anyone who would undertake to teach after an intensive course of just a few months. Since then the number of teachers' training colleges has increased. Teachers already on the job are enabled, after independent study, to enter a college and pass the examination which alone qualifies them for a full teacher's salary. In addition, the opportunities given to conscripts to study at one of the two evening schools run by the Army has augmented the teaching body. Here as in other countries, the lack of teachers hits the under-developed areas hardest. In Israel these are the immigrant areas and the border districts, which will be discussed later.

A survey made in 1961 states that the problem of providing sufficient class-rooms in elementary schools has almost been solved, and the expansion of special assignment rooms (gymnasiums, physics laboratories, reading rooms) can begin. Yet it appears from a survey of students-per-classroom made in 1960 — the year when everything began to look brighter — that only 58 per cent. of the pupils in the elementary schools were being taught in classes of less than 35 children; 13 per cent. (17,000 children) were still being taught in classes with 45 children or more.

In spite of all this, the school life in many Israeli schools has developed satisfactorily. The children are bright and happy. It is only when one actually asks their teachers that one discovers that they have been gathered from all over the world. This goes for established areas where they receive only a few

newly immigrated families at a time. In the recently settled immigrant areas things are different. A school I visited in 1958 had absorbed more than 500 new immigrant children in the course of one year. Of the 800 pupils in the school only 17 per cent. were from 'older' Israeli homes; as many had recently immigrated from Rumania, the rest were from North Africa and Iraq.

In order to cope with the incredible pedagogical problems posed in these difficult areas, the state has organized pedagogical centres, twelve in all, with headquarters in Jerusalem. The experts help the local teachers to plan their work, to procure educational material, and so on. Since children from an illiterate environment are not able to concentrate on abstract work for very long periods at a time — and therefore often get stuck — practical vocational work such as woodwork, gardening and sewing is often offered in some classes during the final two years. At the same time great efforts are made to bring the best-equipped children up to a level from which they may proceed to further education.

One realizes the great importance of these pedagogical centres when one learns about the role the conscript teachers play in the developing areas. After a basic military training qualified women may spend the remainder of their military service as teachers in schools in immigrant districts or distant villages. These young teachers often become the only permanent contact between the immigrants and the consolidated Israel. In the elementary school they teach the children to read and write. In the evening schools they teach the parents. Hardship allowances for civil servants in the developing areas are unknown. Thanks to the girl conscripts, teaching has been ensured even in the least attractive districts, in the Negev desert and the mountains of Galilee.

Evening Schools for Working Youth
Young immigrants between the age of 14 and 17 years who have not attended elementary school in Israel are, according to the Education Law, of compulsory education age. They are obliged to attend free evening schools. In groups based on qualification rather than age,

they learn to read and write, the most elementary mathematics, civics and Jewish Culture. At the evening meal they become acquainted with western table manners. Important aspects of the 'evening schools for working youth' are community singing, sports, amateur acting and an introduction to community activities. In 1958, 12,500 youngsters studied in these schools. Yet the Director of Education estimates that about 4,000 young people in this category living in rural districts stay away from these evening schools.

The allocation to the Ministry of Education for 1961-62 was 133 million I.L. This is 11 per cent, of the state budget. 75 per cent. of the education budget is spent on the education of the 5 to 13 year olds, and 8 per cent. on that of the 14 to 17 year olds, who are required to attend evening schools.

Secondary Education Only children in the above mentioned age-groups are entitled to free education. It is expected that 7' per cent. of the 13 and 14 year olds who have finished eighth grade in 1961 will continue in day secondary schools, 5 per cent. in religious Talmud schools, approximately 8 per cent. in evening schools and a further 8 per cent. in various apprenticeships. Only 7 per cent. were estimated as unlikely to continue their education.

The secondary day schools are (a) The 4 year 'academic' secondary school, (b) 3 or 4 year vocational and agricultural schools, and (c) 2 year continuation schools — a new creation. This new kind of school is being developed by the state in support of those youngsters in the immigrant districts whose education was delayed in an attempt to reduce the serious number of early leavers from secondary schools. (3,000 such were registered in 2-year continuation schools in 1960-61).

The (c) group get free education. 25 per cent. of the pupils in the (a) and (b) groups get state grants covering part or all of their school fees. (In 1952, 200 received such grants; in 1957, 8,000). Jewish Agency¹ and Histadrut² contributes to the budget. Grants

are given to pupils who are considered capable of continued education and whose parents are not able to pay for them. Yet in spite of these grants, many families are too poor to do without the money that a 14-year-old can earn after completing elementary school. To give an example: Sarah born in Tripoli, earns 150 I.L. a month as a housemaid in Tel-Aviv and supports her father, mother and four or five younger brothers and sisters. Her father would not allow her to use the grant that was offered her for continued post-elementary education. Many others share her fate, not least girls from Oriental homes.

Of the youngsters who left eighth grade in 1961, 41.6 per cent. (14,260 children) went on to academic secondary school. 1956: 7,500).

The state inspects and supervises the education given in secondary schools and conducts the matriculation examination. While the elementary schools are state-owned, the 4 year secondary schools are normally run by the municipality or by co-operative society of parents and teachers who own the school jointly. The state contributes 20 per cent. of the expenses, the local authorities 20 per cent. 60 per cent. are paid by the parents. Secondary school fees amount to between 400 and 550 I.L. per annum. The grants given to children of poorer parents cover up to 85 per cent. of the fees and in rare cases 100 per cent.

It is interesting to note that the granting of a scholarship depends not only on the parents' income and the pupils' ability, (estimated on a common test for all Eighth Grades), but also on the pupils' origin. 15-20 per cent. of the state grants *must* be allocated to children from Afro-Asian homes, a decision which also favours the Arabic minorities. In 1961, 15 per cent. of the pupils in academic secondary schools, were of Oriental origin.

Roughly speaking, the education is organized after the pattern of the secondary schools in England before 1944. In the last two years, studies become more specialized. The Israeli pupil has to choose his line. All must study at least one foreign language. Most often English is the first foreign language. Shakespeare,

¹ Represents the World Zionist Organisation.

² The Labour Federation of Israel.

for many pupils in Beersheba, has become the rock upon which the ship founders! To-day's Europe is distant and foreign to the sons and daughters of this desert town, and the jump to Elizabethan England and English is formidable.

In most of the Jewish secondary schools Arabic is taught. In the Arabic secondary schools ¹ the language of instruction is Arabic. The pupils are prepared for the normal matriculation examination which admits them to the university.

The 3 and 4 year vocational and agricultural schools which also come under the Ministry of Education, all offer general education besides the vocational training.

Many Vocational Schools are owned by voluntary institutions such as The Labour Federation of Israel (Histadrut), or international aid-organizations ORT ² Wizo ³ Hadassah ⁴.

Many of the agricultural schools are boarding-schools. Half the day is spent in practical farm work, the other half on the study of agricultural and general subjects. After four years in such a school, a student may qualify for the Agricultural Faculty of the University.

All the young people in the Kibutzim (7,000 of whom are between 14 and 17 years of age) go to school for twelve years, the last four of which offer a higher education, with particular stress on civics and natural science. Alongside this, an intensified practical vocational training is given. The school concludes without an examination and serves mainly to prepare the youngsters gradually to pull their full weight in the work and responsibility of a Kibutz community.

Apprenticeships The general apprentice training includes 12 hours of study a week combined with a 40 hour working week. This

is more than many apprentices can cope with. At the moment, experiments are being made to improve the apprentices' lot within the tight framework of the budget. The heavy immigration of the later years has lowered the percentage of skilled workers in the population, and there is an urgent need that this should be raised. Psychological factors are also at work here. Not least among them is the prejudice, perhaps even stronger among Orientals than elsewhere, that he who can read and write is too good to work with his hands. It is impossible to over-estimate the contribution of the spirit of the Kibutz to the solution of this problem. Its influence goes far beyond its own borders in upholding the pride and value of physical work.

Military Service We have followed Israeli youth to its national service — 18 years for boys and girls. An army must not only know how to fight it must also know what it has got to stand up for. The army therefore has become 'Israel's largest folk highschool'.

Let us follow a battalion on a 200 mile route-march, largely through desert areas. The battalion is divided into 19 classes, according to educational background. For 10 days the groups study those areas that they pass through. Through lectures and films, the soldiers learn what happened in this desert in Biblical times. They learn what crops can grow, see plans for the future development of the area — all this in addition to their military training. The section leader has a fact-sheet from which he explains the places that his unit passes through. During halts the company commanders lecture on the surrounding area and organize quizzes to test the company's knowledge. In the evening the soldiers sing new songs connected with the topics of to-day, and tell old legends around the campfire — a common life which enables people from everywhere to discover themselves in one community. Obligatory courses in Hebrew, the Bible, geography, mathematics and civics are given to those who fall below the minimum requirements in these subjects.

Facilities for further education, theoretical or practical, are given to conscripts who want

¹ There are four such schools run by the public authorities, one of which is in Nazareth, and the Greek Orthodox Church runs one secondary school in Haifa for Arab children.

² The international organization for vocational training of Jews. It has been functioning since 1880, and still has schools in many countries.

³ International Zionist Women's Organization which gives help to Israeli women and children.

⁴ American Zionist Women's Organization which is active in the fields of education and health.

them. Special attention is paid, as I have already said, to teacher training. Many conscripts pass, for example, their matriculation examination under the auspices of the External Matriculation Examination Programme while in the army. Israel is poor and time is precious. Two years of military training for girls and two and a half years for boys must also be used for educational purposes.

The Institutions of Higher Education The oldest Israeli institution of higher learning was founded in 1912 during the time of the Turks. This is Technion in Haifa, which in 1959-60 had 3,300 engineering students. The cornerstone of the Hebrew University was laid on Mount Scopus in 1918, a few months after the break-down of the Turkish Empire. To the Zionists it was a happy omen of the Jewish National Home which was to come as a result of the English victory in the Middle-East during the First World War. The University was inaugurated in 1925. In 1948 a tragic event put end to its activity. A convoy of doctors, nurses and scientists on their way to the university and its hospital was attacked by Arab soldiers, and 77 were killed, among them several leading scientists. At the cease-fire after the Israel-Arab war in 1949, Mount Scopus was declared a demilitarized area. The parties were asked to negotiate and make peace, but time passed and negotiations did not take place. The building still stands on the mountain-top — an Israeli enclave in Arab Jordan. It can be seen but not reached from the Israeli part of Jerusalem. In April 1958 the new Hebrew University was opened in Givat Ram on the western edge of Jerusalem. It has been financed by donations from all the world. 7,000 students are studying there. Its 6-year English language medical course for African students is a signal expression of the capacity and will of Israel to contribute to international understanding. The course is financed by the Israeli Government and is also supported by W.H.O.

Of the centres that are engaged upon basic research and applied science, the Weizmann Institute for Mathematics and Natural Science in Rehovot is the most famous. The Agricultural Faculty of the University, to-

gether with the Agricultural School and its experimental farms, are probably equally important to the economic development of the country. Lately a university has been founded in Tel-Aviv. Finally the religious Zionists have opened a university (Bar-Ilan) in a suburb of Tel-Aviv (Ramat-Gan) with 4 faculties (850 students in 1962) designed especially to educate teachers for the religious secondary schools.

We have followed the stages of education and recognized the western pattern. Surprisingly all levels are present — developed from next to nothing in an astonishingly short period. Very often, of course, the work has to be done 'on caterpillar wheels' through a terrain never before under cultivation, while we move comfortably along customary paths beaten out for us during the centuries.

The New Language The *Ulpan*, the language course in Ivrit, which is contemporary Hebrew, falls outside the school system, but its systematically organized instruction is an important and characteristic link in the educational system of Israel to-day.

The language of the Old Testament is supposed to have been the spoken language in Israel for some 1,400 years. By the time of Jesus, the common man spoke the related Aramaic and more sophisticated Jews spoke Greek. Only a little group in Judea spoke Hebrew until the Romans put an end to the last national Jewish resistance in 132 A.D. But as a religious language Hebrew has been read and spoken at all times by pious Jews all over the world. Through long periods of time it was the written language of many Jews and the spoken language among Jewish strangers who had no other common tongue.

In Eastern Europe Hebrew was the language of the educated Jews. In this language the thoughts of the Enlightenment reached Eastern European Jewry at the end of the 18th century. In 1856 the first Hebrew newspaper was published. The following year Eliezer Ben Yehuda was born in Russia. Twenty-two years later, on his way to Palestine, he wrote 'To-day we speak foreign languages, tomorrow we shall speak Hebrew.' His son, born in 1882, was the first child in

our time who was brought up with Hebrew as his mother-tongue. In 1921 (Ben Yehuda died in 1922) the English recognized Hebrew as Palestine's third official language, along with English and Arabic. To-day people with 70 different native tongues have this language in common.

When the mass-immigration started in 1948, it became urgent to benefit from the presence of Ivrit specialists among immigrants. Day-schools were formed for professional people who had to learn as much Hebrew in as short time as possible to get along. A 'basic Hebrew' of 1,000 words was developed.

At Ulpan Akiva boarding-school in Natanja one can choose between a course of 7 weeks or one of 4 months. Groups are organized according to their knowledge of the language. They are taught in the morning according to 'nature method' — the most intensive form of education I have ever seen. When the pupils have recovered from their morning's work, they have sufficient home-work for the rest of the day in preparation for the next morning. At meals everyone speaks Ivrit. The atmosphere in the dining-hall and at lectures reminded me, when I spent a week-end there, of a Danish Folk Highschool.

At the beginning of the Sabbath on Friday night, everyone gathers in the garden. Each new pupil reads aloud a verse from the Bible in Hebrew and translates it into his native tongue. It seemed to represent the whole Tower of Babel anew! Afterwards, while the stars twinkled through the branches of the trees and the lights were lit around the improvised stage, the pupils acted amateur plays. The most successful was a scene between Ben Gurion (played by a Scot from the Mission hospital in Tiberias) and Nasser (played by a new immigrant from Venezuela).

In the cities, many courses are available to people who want to study Hebrew while living

at home. The penniless can attend the Ulpans at the Kibutzim, where they can spend six months working for half the day. In return for their work, participants get room and board and language education, usually from the Kibbutz' own teachers who must be recognized as Ulpan teachers and are paid by the Ulpan Department of the Jewish Agency.

The construction of a school system, and the educational possibilities developed in Israel during the fourteen years since the founding of the state in 1948, may appear easy and trivial. If so, this short outline has betrayed reality. From a bird's eye view, the multiplicity and dimensions of the problems are easily blurred.

Every grown-up Israeli carries with him his personal fate and cultural background, which may differ from that of most of his countrymen. But common to first generation Israelis is a memory of horror and human degradation — an experience gained in many latitudes, which in Israel has been transformed into a desire to bring human dignity to Israel's new generations. This is the source of the feeling of solidarity which prevails.

The cultural creative process does not develop without friction and conflicts. But the desire for national unity, and a certain resilience spiritual all discordances. This effort have proved stronger than justifies hope for the future also for other suppressed peoples. Israel places knowledge and experience which she has earned so hardly at the disposal of others who have recently moved to the threshold of a new era of freedom and self-respect.

After a study-visit to Israeli educational institutions, Lektor Ruth Lachmann, Copenhagen, writes about the tremendous cultural integration taking place in Israel. Her paper appeared in *Dansk Paedagogisk Tidsskrift*, No. 3, 1962. I have had to take great liberties with the translation sent me, and only hope Dr. Lachmann's meaning has survived. Ed.

The Year Book of Education, 1962

Joint Editors: George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys. Evans Bros. 63/-

THIS Year Book on *The Gifted Child* can be regarded as a continuation and expansion of the main themes treated in the 1961 Year Book on *Concepts of Excellence*. Section I outlines the various psychological theories of giftedness; Section II describes the methods used in different countries for the detection of ability and selection for educational purposes; and Section III is concerned with the possibility of increasing the so-called 'pool of talent' — a rather unfortunate metaphor. The whole volume is inspired by the belief that education should be related to ability rather than birth, and that the neglect or wastage of special gifts of mind is harmful both to the individuals who possess them and to their society.

The opening chapter of the theoretical section by Cyril Burt gives a remarkably clear account of the main questions and problems. He makes all the right distinctions between the fact and nature of giftedness, the means of its identification, and its causes and origins. As would be expected Burt still gives his support to the dominating influence of a factor of general intelligence, which he also regards as having a powerful inherited basis, and he does less than justice to the researches begun by Thurstone and developed by Guilford, Taylor and others on the variety of primary and special mental abilities which this school claims to have isolated. Burt also leans a little too heavily on the work of Terman and his associates in the famous Californian investigation. We have heard all this before.

Guilford's chapter on 'Parameters and Categories of Talent,' deals with the latest and on-going researches, and this work gives only little support to the theory of a general factor. Guilford presents 55 named abilities and 120 ways of being talented. He builds up a coherent system called the 'structure of intellect' in which verbal comprehension and general reasoning are still key factors but where other relations, systems of thought transformations and implications are seen as important products of mental activity. He also

distinguishes 'convergent production,' in which the thinker concentrates on finding one acceptable answer in the light of the given information, from 'divergent production' where the end result is a variety of answers, and which demands abilities which are crucial to creative thinking, imagination and invention. A further chapter on creative thinking abilities by Torrance supports this approach, and is extremely well documented by three pages of recent bibliography. Admittedly the concept of creative thinking suffers from the difficulty of establishing criteria, and the consequent problems of valid measurement. Yet it would appear from the work of Taylor, Getzels and Jackson, and others, described in the three Conferences at the University of Utah, that one can begin to identify the bases of creative talent. Such creative abilities, as at present tested, do not necessarily correlate highly with I.Q. although a good level of I.Q. is a usual accompaniment of high creativity. There may be a cut-off point in terms of I.Q. above which a higher I.Q. makes little difference, but the presence or absence of another special factor or factors is the chief determinant of success in creative work, as against more conventional intelligent work. The need for encouraging and increasing the creative gifts for basic research is stressed in an interesting short article in Part III by Hans Selye, who writes mainly from the point of view of experimental medicine and surgery.

The importance of these new approaches for the educator is that while he should always be concerned about the intellectual growth of every child it should not be conceived as growth in the same direction or pattern. It is becoming clear that there are many special abilities other than the kind of academic ability which is correlated highly with I.Q., and that selection aimed at success in the traditional scholastic curriculum, may result in the neglect of creative and unusual talents of enormous importance. This is one of the general conclusions which may be derived from the trend of thought running

through this Year Book. To be fair to Burt it should be stated that he would accept this conclusion. He gives an excellent account of the originality of genius and shows that it depends on mental processes of re-combining elements in a synthesis, which is the hall mark of a particular kind of intelligence. The criticism is that Burt is still too attached to the concept of a general intelligence as a single factor; but he concedes, and it is an important concession, that the intelligence tests he did so much to develop still chiefly pick out those who are most likely to succeed in a grammar school education of the traditional type. He writes: 'They favour the verbal mind rather than the technical, the analytic rather than the intuitive or synthetic, the assimilative rather than the creative.' And he continues: 'Intelligence is by no means the sole criterion to be adopted in deciding who are the gifted individuals. Special abilities and disabilities, and above all the relevant traits of temperament and character, must be taken into account. In short, the focus should be on *the person as a whole*, not on mere intellectual capacity.'

The introduction to Section II, by Passow, on selection gives a good over-view of the procedures in different countries. Here we find, that in spite of their weaknesses, the standard mental tests are the most frequently used for the detection of ability. Hence the narrow idea of talent and the neglect of the arts, except in the U.S.S.R. where there are special schools for dancing, music and art, and where an extensive nation-wide system is set up for the purpose of discovering those with such talents. As intelligence tests are taboo and any general academic gifts suspected, the way to get on in the Soviet Union in ordinary subjects, say science and mathematics, would appear to be by being good at them and passing examinations — a method which evidently still has much to commend it. Of course there are no selection tests for secondary education in New Zealand or Sweden, but this is not said to have increased the number of creative individuals. The fact is that a comprehensive school system does not, of itself, imply a broader concept of creativeness. It may go on educating in the same

old dull way, even if it brings greater variety of subjects. The main emphasis in this section is on the talent search being carried on in all the industrialized countries, but few writers seem to have foreseen that finding a greater diversity of talent will be of little use unless we provide a greater diversity in educating it. There is a certain amount of repetition in this Section, and some overlapping with Section I, which is shown by several writers describing the same researches. However this is probably no disadvantage in a book of reference.

The third section on how to increase the numbers of the gifted leads one to another general conclusion to which this *Year Book* inevitably points. This is that the obstacles to the emergence of talent are largely social. Articles by McIntosh and Fleming for the U.K. and Drews for the U.S.A. refer to the frequent influence of social class and home background on school achievement. To stop the wastage of talent caused by children of less privileged social groups leaving school early has become an objective in many countries. But to keep pupils at school is not only a question of providing better social conditions, it is also a question of better educational methods. The under-achievers of good intelligence need special help, and the average pupil needs more stimulation. Creating better conditions not only for the discovery but also for the development of talent is seen to be a major task for all countries which are giving priority to educational progress.

Finally, several writers refer to wider aspects of the purpose of education in a technological world. This issue is focussed by the thought-provoking contribution of Arnold Anderson entitled 'Dilemmas of Talent-centred Educational programmes'. The *Rise of the Meritocracy* was a warning which produced some of these thoughts, and *The Child Buyer* may well be another. In this latter book John Hersey satirises the business representative who goes out to buy brains for his company, and who wants them as young as possible, before the schools have spoilt them by their schemes of acceleration and enrichment. Anderson sees the danger of narrowing the definition of talent to fit certain

social objectives, thus bringing about a conflict with freedom of choice, and, in a highly competitive situation, producing new types of social inequality. Most important, he sees the unfortunate results of viewing talent as wealth. A society which thinks of education as investment tends to think of the dividend in economic terms. It cannot be repeated too

often that the aim of education is to enable each individual to develop his own special talents to the full as a human right. The fully creative person pursues the work that he loves because it fulfils a deep need of his nature, and when wealth and recognition come to him they come as a secondary result of what he does for its own sake. *A. K. C. Ottaway*

The Independent Progressive School

Edited by H. A. T. Child, Hutchinson 25/-

Herein the Heads of fourteen very different communities set down clearly and unequivocally their educational beliefs and practices. In a sense, the book is a sequel to *The Modern Schools Handbook*, published in 1934, though it covers a narrower field (no junior schools are included) and as in any selection, there are omissions one regrets.

The fourteen heads write confidently, yet with humility. Their schools are no longer very 'new', the three youngest being already over 22, five being over 50 and one a centenarian; the oldest is 250 years old. Some more than others have caught the eye of the public, a few the ear of a private benefactor, but in general they have struggled to their present position over the rough and testing track of financial stringency. A succession of parents have chosen them because they provide the sort of education they think best-suited to their children's needs. I do not think much snob value attaches to having been at a progressive school.

While there is an encouraging variety of method and approach, these schools have much in common. The following quotations, each of which applies to one school, might without impropriety be applied to every one of them: 'What we were trying to realise was not something new, but very old — a balanced community in which spiritual realities can be apprehended, and so give power and direction to youth.' (Abbotsholme) 'People matter more than systems.' (Badminton) '... you must put the child first and the subjects that you teach him second, and you must put his *present* first and his future second.' (Bedales)

'There is no doubt that first and foremost we would place the freedom in personal relationships which exists throughout the school, both between children and adults and between the children themselves.' (Dartington)

'A good school is one where everyone in the community has the chance to go on growing.' (Friends' School, Saffron Walden)

'One of the qualities most needed today, perhaps, is ability not only to live in a community, but to create a community.' (Frensham Heights)

'No person's freedom may interfere with another's.' (Kilquhanity)

'With the notion of personal integrity must go the realisation that you cannot exist in isolation, and that what you are as well as what you do, affects everyone in your social group.' (King Alfred's School)

'The individual can grow healthily only through discipline in a society, for freedom is non-existent without an element of restraint.' (Leighton Park)

'... a happy home is not the result of technical instruction but depends on the relationship between husband and wife.' (Monkton Wyld)

'Freedom and consequent responsibility is then our

discipline — our way of life.' (St Christopher, Letchworth)

'Imaginative writing is a natural gift of childhood.' (St Mary's)

'If religion means anything, it means giving out love.' (Summerhill)

'Much of what we have to do is a liberation of children from fear — the enemy of the abundant life.' (Wennington)

These schools have much community of purpose. They are aware of the outer world, and most of them make strenuous and successful efforts to promote an awareness of it amongst their pupils, and a sensitivity towards the needs and qualities of other people and of other peoples. They are responsible and serene about sex. They esteem excellence, and where it is attainable they achieve it without artificial competition.

The book contains an entertaining paradox: Kenneth Barnes rejoices that a number of his old boys and girls have become teachers; Neill, that only one of his has done so.

What, then, is a Progressive School? Fourteen answers are in the book, and H. A. T. Child in his fair-minded introduction points the way to a definition, while rightly warning his readers that not all progress lies in the Progressive Schools. If the liveliest breezes blow through the youngest of them, the older have not allowed tradition to seal up their windows — light, air and a certain freshness permeate them all. Every parent in search of a school, every teacher in search of refreshment, every student in training should read this book. How sane it all is — and how exciting!

J. B. Annand

Time Remembered

1: Past Glory by Susan Ault and Bernard Workman. Basis Blackwell. Limp cloth 5/3 d. cloth boards 6/6 d.

The title of this History Series is delightfully evocative and the superb pictures on which this book is based are equally so. *Past Glory* surveys in just over a hundred pages the story of life on earth from 'Millions of Years before Man' (P. 7-18) to the Christians and Muhammadans (P. 105-109). It is not a textbook, and it is something more than a 'reader': it is a beautiful possession, which in the hands of children between ten and twelve should stir wonder and provoke their further interest.

Two conditions must be satisfied if the high promise of the first volume is to be fulfilled, first the presence of teacher alert to exploit the suggestive vividness of this kind of historical presentation, and secondly the preservation in succeeding volumes of that global perspective on human affairs, which, although easier to attain for ancient history, is the sine qua non of making sense of the recent past and its impact on the pupil's own present.

James L. Henderson

Our Councils

The Story of Local Government, Helen Bentwich, Routledge & Kegan Paul. 12/6

This is a reasonable book written to explain the growth of local government in this country and its aims and achievements today. Here and there, without attempting to give a formal history, Mrs. Bentwich indicates the recent history of some institutions by way of showing the difficulties met by those who wish to develop new possibilities without delay.

The book is partly in the form of conversations between ordinary people grumbling about faulty public services such as poor street lighting or lack of neighbourhood amenities, laying the blame, traditionally, on Them. Such conversations recur throughout the book; most of them are natural and unembarrassing though I thought the librarian who said that a museum, art gallery and new Youth Centre had practically wiped out juvenile crime in the town sounded a bit smug.

In order to make short cuts through the apparent muddles in our public arrangements and in our ways of describing them Mrs. Bentwich introduces an interlocutor from another country to ask questions of ordinary people and of Them. This works well.

In explaining that councils *must* do certain things and *may* do others, Mrs. Bentwich urges that the difference between 'must' and 'may' in effect depends largely on whether the ordinary person uses his vote in the elections and finds ways of making his complaints and suggestions known to the appropriate Committee.

The later sections describe the ways in which local government is financed and the structure of councils: the methods by which they do their work and the place of politics in local government. These matters are explained as clearly as possible in view of their dispiriting complications. The two final sections are concerned with the local government of London in particular, and include a description of a meeting of the London County Council, which does not sound very interesting, but meetings of a full council seldom are, unless a good row is blowing up. I know that some schools attend these meetings, and I can only hope that the lively parts of this book may help to illuminate the atmosphere of the Council chamber for them.

Helen Houstoun-Barnes

The World Turned Upside Down

Donald McLean, Heinemann 21s. Od.

One might suppose the title of this book introduced a socio-economic analysis of the tortuous times with which we live. Not so. *The World Turned Upside Down* is the name of a low-down public house located in Sydney's dockland in the 1880's, and the book is a rip-roaring, realistic, and at times bawdy yarn about the people thereabouts, told with the speed and unexpectedness of gripping narrative. But this is definitely *not* another of those life-in-the-raw books that seem dedicated to the obsession that man is by nature degraded. Raw the book often is, as raw as they come, but what shines through the social turmoil, the ungoverned violence, and the squalid 'respectability' — against which simple humanity becomes a primary virtue — is a passionate belief in people, in their wholesomeness and creative qualities, given half a chance.

The basic characters of the story are the wild ones of two rival adolescent gangs, fighting it out with the

police, society and one another. Their personalities — and the past that made them — are described without sentimentality. We see them and their setting as clearly as in a good documentary film — indeed this novel is documentary to the extent that most of the incidents that tumble over one another as the story moves along are taken from newspapers and other documents housed in Sydney's Mitchell Library. Yet, somehow, these lost and sometimes dangerous young people are nearer to the Kingdom of Heaven than the insensitive, self-righteous and confused adults who represent the would-be respectable elements in the surrounding community.

So, in a way, the world is turned upside down. Fair is foul and foul is fair. It is notable that, for many of the adult characters in the book, life has already turned sour. For the young ones it hasn't — yet. That's one reason why the generations did not square off too well in Sydney towards the end of the last century. And it is one reason why they don't today. So the book not only transports us to Australia in its rougher days; it faces us with the problem of youth gone wild — at any time, in any place — because it has been offered too little of value to satisfy its exuberant energy and resilient yearning. This *emerges* from the story; it is never said; it is just one of the subtle overtones that add significance to a novel rich in character, situation, incident, anecdote and insight.

James Hemming

Winifred Nicholls of The Garden School

The death on September 4 of Mrs. L. Winifred Nicholls at the age of 93 deprived the New Education Fellowship of a pioneer who was a member from its inception. She founded The Garden School in London in 1917 and its principles of love, freedom, brotherhood, cooperation and service attracted parents who were eager to take advantage of her ideas for the education of 'the whole man'. The school was transferred from London to Ballinger, Great Missenden, in 1921; and seven years later to Lane End, near High Wycombe, where open air life and contact with great natural beauty played an important part in the lives of pupils and staff. While academic subjects were given their due importance in the curriculum, music, rhythmic movement, drama, art and handicrafts were considered equally essential. All forms of original expression were encouraged; interesting examples of the children's work were included in the exhibitions at all the early international conferences of the N.E.F.

Because each pupil was given individual consideration, the school naturally drew the attention of psychologists, and the problems of several 'difficult' children were solved through sympathy and through belief in the innate goodness of every child. Some of those found 'impossible' elsewhere, emerged from their difficulties and did work of great value in their subsequent environment.

Mrs. Nicholls retired in 1937, but her work was carried on for ten years more by her successor Mrs. Ormrod. Pupils of several races and faiths were educated in the school, for the brotherhood of nations and the common teachings of the great religions were at the root of Mrs. Nicholls's concept of education. A great number of children now grown up and scattered about the world look back in gratitude to her, and the influence of her ideals and of her personality is still felt and appreciated.

THE NEW ERA

IN HOME AND SCHOOL

A Project

Towards the end of 1961 The New Education Fellowship, under contract with Unesco, set out to explore the relationships between adults and adolescents and the problems of communication between them in England, north and south. This issue of *The New Era* is almost entirely occupied with the report on that project.

The exploration was conducted in permissive discussion groups in which adults or adolescents or a mixture of both could freely express and examine their opinions and attitudes. Having signed the contract, the NEF was of course bound by its terms, which provided both a useful frame-work and, to some extent, a whipping-boy for some of the more sophisticated discussion groups.

Professor J. W. Tibble agreed to act as Counsellor and rapporteur to the project. With his help, the Secretary of the NEF proceeded to appoint fourteen group leaders, all members of the Fellowship or well known to members, and all experienced in leading the kind of informal discussion that had been proposed to Unesco. Each group leader gathered together his own group.

In the adolescent section, there were groups of young people in full-time education ranging from 13-14 years old to sixth formers; young people engaged in further education, apprentices and young workers. In the adult section, there were groups of parents of young people, of teachers and of students in training, of older people in positions of authority. Most of these groups were of citizens in urban communities, but one was rural and another was of citizens on a new estate outside a Midland city. It was not possible in this modest project to cover the whole range of differences that

might be relevant. It is emphasized that this was planned as a pilot project to try out certain discussion group techniques, and collect information on which a larger scale international project might be based.

The group leaders had their first meeting with the Counsellor and the International Secretary of the N.E.F. in February 1962. It was decided that, at the first meeting of each group, after introductions and some description of the aims of the project, members should be asked to give their individual responses to a series of statements set out on duplicated sheets, with a space for comments below each statement. The statements were based on comments frequently made in everyday conversation on the topic under discussion. They were generalized in form and dogmatic in tone, not only because this is in fact how many people express themselves on such matters, but because they were intended to provoke a response at the level of feelings and attitudes as well as of opinion. The responses would give us a map of the opinions held by members as individuals at the beginning of the project. They would also serve, it was thought, as 'starters' for exploration of some of the deeper issues at a later stage. It was decided to ask group members to respond to the statements again at the end of this project.

Group leaders were asked to get their groups to discuss during their next two meetings what they themselves had said about these rather arbitrary statements. The purpose of this procedure was to make members aware of the range of difference among themselves, where they agreed and disagreed, and which topics would be most important for further discussion. The role of the group leader up to

this point would be the normal chairman's role, keeping discussion to the point, encouraging shy members and so on.

The group leaders met again in May, when most of their groups had already met three times. There were reports on the nature and constitution of each group and the way things had gone up to date. In general the response of the groups to the project and the degree of concern and co-operation had been gratifyingly high. There were marked differences in the way groups had reacted to the statements. On the whole the adolescent groups took them at their face value and found no difficulty in making off-the-cuff responses, whereas some of the adult groups were much worried by the form of the statements and the kind of response that was expected of them. Several adult-group leaders also reported on the degree of responsibility and anxiety felt by the adults over adolescent problems; some of the young people were aware of this and commented on the over-concern and worry of parents; but there were also comments from them of an opposite kind, e.g. that they were not given enough individual attention and guidance in the school and work situation. There were indications that responses on the opinion level, from both sections, often concealed deeper and ambivalent attitudes which might be elucidated further in the next phase of the project.

It was decided at this meeting in May that during the remainder of the Project each group leader would try to get some material on the following general topics which had already emerged in many groups.

(i) Responsibility and freedom in adolescence;

(ii) Relations between the age groups and their attitudes to each other;

(iii) Social change, particularly as it affected relations between the age groups.

There was discussion also on the role of the group leader from thence onwards. It would have to include (a) the minimum of chairing necessary to keep discussion moving and purposeful, (b) observing and recording what went on, (c) interpretations or questions, to bring out implications and underlying feelings.

Within this general framework, however, it was understood that group leaders would be free to modify procedure to meet the particular needs of the group in question. It was also decided that, wherever it was feasible, group leaders would arrange for the tape recording of one or two sessions and that the tapes would be made available to the Counsellor at the end of the project.

The group leaders met again in June, and held a final meeting in October to discuss Professor Tibble's summaries of their reports, and to help him with the conclusions that seemed to have emerged from the Project.

This Report falls into three parts:

1. An analysis of the responses of groups during their first three sessions to the 'Statements' vulgarly made about adults and adolescents and frequently reflected in one form or another in the press and in the street.

2. A summary of salient things said in each of the fourteen groups in turn. Some of the most clearly personal details that came up have been omitted, but most aspects of each discussion have been included and many remarks are reported-verbatim.

3. A summary of those points that cropped up most frequently and that seem to have most general relevance.

The 170 people whose attitudes and opinions form the basis of this Report are English in their experience and in their ways of expressing it. Yet the NEF hopes that any reader who takes the trouble to examine the report closely may find it useful.

BRAZIERS PARK

School of Integrative Social Research

HOLIDAY COURSES

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Dec. 21-27 | Christmas Festival (incl. Living Research Group) |
| Dec. 28-31 | Braziers Review
The Philosophy of Non-violence |
| Jan. 1-4 | Camp Education Research Group (incl. New Year Party) |
| Jan. 4-7 | Farm Camp Reunion |

FURTHER DETAILS FROM: THE WARDEN
BRAZIERS PARK, IPSDEN, OXFORD

Responses to some Statements

In the analyses of the responses, the dividing line between adolescent and adult was taken as 21. Most of the adolescents were teenagers between 13 and 19. The following abbreviations are used: A = adult, Y = adolescent. Where relevant a further distinction is made: Y.A. = young adult, O.A. = older adult; Y.Y. = 13—15 year old. The abbreviation follows the comment it refers to. The figures are percentages. Numbers involved: A. 87; Y. 80.

1. *Young people to-day no longer seem to respect their elders.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	27	61	12
Y.	29	62	9

Many of the comments in both sections pointed to a distinction between an outward show of respect or deference to age as such, and feelings of regard for individual older people whose qualities earned the respect of the young. It was generally agreed that the former had declined, though some made the point that there were social class differences in this respect. Many felt this decline to be a good thing because it encouraged greater reciprocity of respect between older and younger, more honesty and a better understanding by the young of the qualities that should earn respect.

'Surely it is up to the elders to encourage respect.' (A)

'Was the old respect worth having?' (A)
'We can examine our elders and respect their good qualities but not blindly respect them without analysing what we are respecting.' (Y)

'True they do not seem to, but it is only an act in many cases, for an adult worthy of respect will command it from the most independent youngster. The truth is that many adults expect respect when they do nothing to deserve it, being often too careless in their attitudes to youth.' (Y)

'There is less of a necessity to conceal true feeling.' (A)

'I think that older people don't understand teenagers. If older people could learn to trust young people then the younger ones would respect their elders.' (Y.Y.)

'Old fashioned courtesy is dead but most young people respect respectable people.' (Y)

One adult thought there was a closer understanding and exchange of ideas now, but another thought the lines of communication had broken down and this young person agreed: 'We do respect our elders but in most cases find it hard to get through to them.'

'Young people do respect their parents as parents but do not necessarily accept their apparent dictatorship over such matters as clothes, occupation and ideals.' (Y) 'We do if they deserve it.' (Y) 'Anyway elders don't respect young people. They seem to think they are a lot of layabouts.' (Y.Y.)

2. *Many teenagers have far too much money to spend.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	62	28	10
Y.	28	65	7

As might be expected, there was a wide divergence between adult and adolescent opinion on this. There were many references in both sections to the higher cost of living and, in the case of teenagers earning money, their right to spend it as they thought fit. 'They seem to have more money but in my view they are entitled to every penny of it. They certainly don't save because (a) there seems no point in saving in the present state of world insecurity and (b) because of the ever declining value of money. They may appear spendthrifts to their elders but the sort of things they buy (clothes, hair styling, etc.) are necessities within their own society.' (A)

'The teenager has different views to those of his or her parents as to what sort of clothes to wear and what sort of music to listen to. The young person needs money to spend on just what he likes, so that he may be able to

develop independence and responsibility. Teenagers still at school have far too little to spend.' (Y)

'If this money is used wisely it cannot be called too much.' (Y)

'A few spend unwisely, so giving adults the opportunity to say this.' (Y)

Some of the responses were very emphatic: 'Rubbish. Thousands of young people are being exploited as cheap labour through the apprenticeship system.' (A) 'A fictitious lie spread about by lowly paid and ignorant adults.' (Y)

Some, however, expressed concern about the lack of education in wise spending: 'They are not taught by their parents the best way of spending: pleasure counts too much.' (A)

'Yes. Since we haven't known want as our parents have in the 1930's, we cannot appreciate money and use it wisely.' (Y)

3. *Adults have two codes of behaviour, one for themselves and the other for the young.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	67	24	9
Y.	53	25	22

A majority of each section agreed that this was so. Some added, 'Of course!' or 'Why not?'

'What is right for adults is not necessarily right for young people and vice versa.' (A) 'True but natural. Adults as they grow older, grow stiffer, and stop thinking about life, always forget how they themselves acted and thought in their youth; their code applies to their own generation which had a different upbringing.' (Y) 'Yes, the one for themselves is usually much *stricter*.' (A) 'Why should the young expect to behave as those older before they have learnt what life is about.' (A) 'It is not necessarily hypocritical to try to prevent one's child from taking on one's own faults.' (A)

But some were in varying degrees uneasy about what one young person called this 'truly ridiculous state of affairs.' 'There should be one code on basic things—truth, honesty,

kindness, consideration.' (A) 'Important basic points should be the same but teenagers have altered this code to suit themselves.' (Y) 'I find this particularly true of my parents; they are perpetually on at me about their ideals and don't seem to realize I have any of my own.' (Y) 'True. What we call fun the adults think is disgusting.' (Y.Y.) 'They like to think we do not know as much as we do: so they treat us as children.' (Y)

'No. Adults are usually more reasonable than we make out. But they are a little out of touch.' (Y) 'No. Reasonable adults have only one code of morals. They also expect an adult standard of manners from adolescents but seldom get it.' (A)

4. *Young people are always talking about their rights; they don't seem to think they have any duties.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	40	50	10
Y.	30	58	12

This is a double-headed statement of course, and the comments show that the majority who rejected it were thinking rather of the second half of the statement. Few questioned the truth of the first part, and many defended it or excused it. 'They have a *right* to talk about their rights if they please.' (Y.Y.) 'They are encouraged in this by adults' demands for better working conditions and higher wages.' (A)

On the other hand, 'This is a hangover from childhood: why accuse a not yet mature person of being immature?' (A) And this very pertinent question, 'If they are not regarded as capable of having rights, why should they be regarded as capable of having duties? No—they shouldn't. No one should.'

In the main, however, in both sections it was thought that many (most?) young people were well aware that they had duties: 'The children of the parents in this group *know* they have duties (though they may try to get out of them).' (A) 'Young people realize their duties but often see them in a different light to the adults.' (Y) 'Of course we realize we have

duties. It is nearly always the bad side of teenagers that is in the papers.' (Y.Y.) 'This is often only talk and they do in fact have some sense of duty.' (Y)

Some pointed to the larger number staying on for further education and others to earlier marriage as examples of young people being willing to assume duties: there were also some references to awareness of political issues. 'A great many young people have a very strong sense of duty (witness the Aldermaston marches). Paradoxically, when they demonstrate their sense of duty they are all too often branded as being irresponsible.' (A)

The possible connection between the two parts of the statement was pointed out by several in both sections: 'Older people are expecting duties and responsibility from the young, without according them rights.' (A) 'They are always talking about their rights because they are sometimes given too many duties.' (Y) 'They are always talking about their rights because the elders are always pushing them.' (Y) 'The fault is rather with the elders or society which does not say often enough you are needed!' (A)

5. *There has been a sharp decline in the manners and morals of young people generally during recent years.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	46	41	13
Y.	55	35	10

This statement caused much heart searching and many reservations in response: 'Decline yes, sharp no,' 'Manners maybe. Morals query', 'A general trend with adults also', 'Accepted moral standards have themselves changed.' This charge has been made by every generation about the next.' (A) 'It seems so only when judged against old-fashioned morals.' (Y)

Many comments suggested the changes were for the better. 'There is more honesty in these matters. Less lip service to codes and a more honest search for standards of right and wrong.' (A) 'They are more open about what they think and do.' (A) 'They speak more

openly and some people think plain speaking rude.' (Y) 'More young people freely and openly do what we used to do furtively and guiltily.' (A)

Where the charge was accepted, various agencies were blamed. 'Television is the main cause.' (Y) 'True: there are many reasons—the bad example set by T.V., films, books; less parental control; much *talk* by adults about youngsters—they should be left out of the limelight and given a decent chance to mature in *peace*.' (Y) 'Sex and morals are commercialized more to-day.' (Y) 'We do not get very good examples from our elders.' (Y.Y.)

There were, however, many outright rejections of the charge: 'A pack of lies—only the opinion of adults.' (Y) 'Not true; working class morals and manners are probably higher.' (A) 'What about immorality in Victorian England?' (A)

The queries may be represented by this comment: 'I wouldn't know anything about that. I only read the *sports* pages of the *cheap* Sunday newspapers.' (Y)

6. *Older people seem to forget what it was like to be young.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	66	26	8
Y.	66	23	11

This is accepted by a two thirds majority in both sections; by the older ones with some resignation, as a natural consequence of growing old, by the young with more asperity. 'Yes, they forget their own failures and remember how good they were: a pathological process.' (A) 'A normal development: even on teaching practice I have noticed a tendency to righteous anger at faults which as a child I have committed myself.' (Y.A.) 'They only remember what they want to—how good they were compared to us!' (Y) 'Yes, they always talk about their youth as if they were perfect.' (Y) 'Yes, even at my age I can't remember what I liked at 10.' (Y)

But some protested that they found they (or their parents) remembered only too well. 'I haven't found this. There's nothing they like

better than to talk about their youth.' (Y) 'On the contrary: they constantly remember the good old days and consequently condemn the younger generation for being unlike them in their youth. To quote the immortal bard: they're just not with it!' (Y) 'They seem to remember too much if you ask me. They always talk as if they had such a hard time when they were young,' (Y.Y.) 'No but they forget that conditions have altered from when they were young.' (A)

This comment suggests a sex difference in this matter: 'I find many adults, particularly female adults, do *not* forget what it is like to be young. Males, however, seem to bear some sort of chip on their shoulders. (Y)

7. *Young people are no longer trained in habits of hard work and self denial and thrift.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	45	43	12
Y.	37	55	8

The responses were fairly evenly divided with rather more adults approving and more adolescents disapproving. In some comments a distinction was made between the first mentioned habit and the others, and the point was frequently made that, in an affluent society, self denial and thrift are less necessary for all. 'Self denial and thrift are not virtues in a commercial society.' (A) 'I do not agree with living for the present but self denial is a greater evil.' (Y)

The example of adults was often referred to: 'True. They are trained to be lazier and selfish by parents who strike for more money and shorter working hours.' (Y) 'If older people think this, it is up to them to see that teenagers *are* trained.' (Y) 'Yes, they follow the example set by parents.' (A)

There were a good many who vigorously rejected the statement, at any rate for two of the habits mentioned. 'Those caught up in the examination tread-mill will know about hard work and self denial.' (A) 'Many now work and study, deny themselves present pleasures for either future ones or solid gains like train-

ing, a house, furniture etc.' (A) 'At a grammar school such «habits» are necessary to make a success of school life.' (Y) Not just grammar schools, some thought: 'The tyranny of examinations ensures that even secondary modern pupils have to work.' (A) 'Many of them work far too hard and spend time and energy, in study particularly, that would not be tolerated by many adults.' (A)

Some however just deplored the change. 'Agreed. Work and discipline are two words which must not be used, particularly in state schools.' (A) 'Many school-children crave so much for work they forget to prepare themselves for it.' (Y) Few, however, deplored the demise of thrift. 'It's not *healthy* to be young and thrifty.' (A)

8. *Adults are envious of young people because there are more opportunities for enjoyment to-day than when they were young.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	36	54	10
Y.	50	40	10

A majority of the adults thought not, and half the young people thought there was something in it. Some of those who agreed thought envy too strong a word. 'Not envious, just doubtful of whether they should trust us.' (Y.Y.) Others accepted envy, 'It was always so—envy of lost youth.' (A) or suggested some stronger word: 'They are often even resentful of young people's energy, enthusiasm and hopefulness.' (A)

There was some admonishment from the adolescents: 'They should realize they are still quite fit enough to carry on enjoying themselves.' (Y) and some pointed reference, 'This is particularly obvious from my father who thinks life for the young should be hard work and discipline.' (Y)

On the other hand, some questioned whether there were more opportunities for the young: 'Most new enjoyments are available to all. *Do* they enjoy themselves more?' (A) 'Utter rot, there are now less real ways of enjoying yourself.' (Y) 'No, the same enjoyments as what we have now.' (Y)

Others pointed out that many adults had a different attitude to youthful enjoyment. 'Many adults get pleasure from seeing young people enjoying themselves.' (A) 'No. Adults seem to want to do all they can to help young people to grow up.' (Y) 'Most parents want their child to have the opportunities they did not have.' (Y.Y.)

9. *Young people do not discuss their problems with adults because they think they will not understand.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	62	30	8
Y.	57	36	7

In both sections, the proportion of agreement was high. 'There is always a gulf between the generations.' (A) 'Why should they anyway? Individuals have a right to privacy.' (A) 'Why should they discuss with parents whom they are trying to break away from?' (A) 'They don't get understanding so much as moralizing.' (A)

'I prefer to discuss them with friends. I do not like my parents knowing what I feel about some things.' (Y) 'Teenagers, living in a high pressure world, feel that adults, having grown up in a simpler society would be out of touch with their feelings and sympathies.' (Y) 'It's not that they will not understand—I think that embarrassment is the main cause.' (Y) 'Most adults do not have the patience to listen or consider their point of view.' (Y) 'In certain problems we feel that adults cannot help anyway, as they are so often out of touch with the everyday things of the young.' (Y)

Varying degrees of dissent from the statement are expressed in the following comments: 'It depends on the nature of the teenager and the parent.' (A) 'Where a good link is obtained with an adult, problems are brought forward and discussed.' (A) 'Then, young people are idiotic and/or inarticulate.' (A) 'I disagree. The first person I turn to if I'm in a spot is my mother.' (Y) 'Adults do understand but they beat around the bush too much when advising you.' (Y) 'I always refer to my mum and quite a few people do.' (Y)

Some in both sections distinguished between parents and other adults, suggesting that special difficulties might arise with regard to the former: 'It is always more difficult to discuss one's problems with someone who is emotionally involved with one.' (A) 'Parents yes, not adults necessarily, e.g. not interested and uninvolved adults.' (A) 'Maybe not their parents. But they would go to other adults who they think may not dwell on their problems as their parents may.' (Y)

Depressed parents may take a little comfort from this comment. 'They do discuss some problems with parents: those they don't are the ones they prefer to solve themselves: this is part of becoming independent.' (A)

10. *The rise in juvenile delinquency is due to the failure of parents and others to enforce discipline.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	35	51	14
Y.	56	35	9

A majority of adolescents agreed; the position is reversed with the adults. One or two comments from those who agreed—in the main: 'Yes. If discipline is not taught in early life, self-discipline is very hard to establish later on.' (A) 'There has been a decline in rigid discipline. Particularly is the decline in respect for the father likely to lead to delinquency.' (A) 'Yes, in the sense that many elders have abdicated from a position of providing standards.' (A)

The dissenters had more to say. Many criticized the over-simplification of the problem in this statement. Juvenile delinquency is a complex phenomenon with many possible causes. The effect of preoccupation with crime in films and press was mentioned. Also, 'Not enough recreation where they can let off steam.' (Y) 'Things on T.V..' (Y) 'The hard, fast life led these days where family life and love seem to count for so little.' (Y)

Insofar as discipline was a factor, some thought that too much or too rigid discipline was as likely a cause: 'Not true. It is often so because the parents are too strict with their

children and do not show them kindness.' (Y.Y.) Many in both sections accepted the importance of parental influence, but suggested the lack was rather of 'guidance' or 'example' or 'affection' or 'understanding'. and in any case: 'Discipline should not be enforced.' (A) 'Enforced discipline is not the answer but guidance in self-discipline.' (A) 'The failure to create the conditions which encourage self-discipline.' (A) 'The failure is not in discipline but in teaching them how to think properly for themselves.' (Y) 'Not the failure to enforce discipline but wrongly enforced discipline.' (Y) 'Juvenile Delinquency is also increasing in authoritarian, highly disciplined societies like the U.S.S.R.' (A)

11. *Relations between older and younger people have improved greatly in the last thirty years. They are more tolerant of each other and try to understand each other.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query.
A.	61	19	20
Y.	38	32	30

A majority of adults had no doubt that relations had improved. The high proportion of queries among the adolescents was due to their inevitable lack of direct evidence on this question. This did not prevent some of them from having very positive opinions. 'This is not true, there has rather been a decline.' (Y) 'Relations have not improved—they have only had more limelight.' (Y) 'Yes, especially in school.' (Y) 'No. There has been a breaking up of family groups by children becoming independent earlier.' (Y)

Some comments by dissenting adults: 'No, the fault, if any, lies with young people who are sceptical of interference.' (A) 'No. Parents who grew up during the depression have basically different attitudes from children of an affluent society.' (A)

These comments are typical of many from assenting adults: 'The relations are more democratic, two-way, reflecting an understanding and real respect that was absent in

the more clearly structured relations of thirty years ago.' (A) 'There is less reliance on accepted authority and established patterns of behaviour.' (A)

One adult thought, 'Greater diversity of interests etc., may make it *harder* to be tolerant,' (A) referring to noisy jazz, untidy clothes etc.; but one adolescent had found that 'most adults *can* tolerate pop music blurring through the house and have come to accept the strange ways in which teenagers dress.' (Y) Another felt that, 'A younger older generation has arisen who can realize the feelings of teenagers.' (Y)

Some made distinctions between tolerance and understanding, but not necessarily in the same direction. 'More tolerant but not necessarily understanding.' (A) 'Not always more tolerant but they do seem to try to understand each other more.' (A) 'Various comments made on T.V., in newspapers etc., persuade them to try to understand each other but there is no more tolerance, just a "couldn't care" attitude.' (Y)

12. *Advertising and selling goods to teenagers has become a very profitable business. It is a bad thing that young people are exploited in this way.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	80	13	7
Y.	32	56	12

The adult approval of this statement is emphatic: a majority of the adolescents dissented. The arguments used to support this dissent were; (a) we are no more exploited than anybody else; and (b) nobody *has* to buy these things; and sensible people will be on their guard. 'Not only teenagers but anyone foolish enough to fall into the trap.' (Y) 'No, the teenager like everyone else must learn to see the deceit of the advertisers and must learn discrimination.' (Y) 'It is a good chance for the teenager to learn to differentiate between the worthy and the shabby.' (Y) 'Adults do not seem to realize that we have a small degree of commonsense, at least.' (Y) 'If they can't resist the adverts there is some-

thing lacking in their education.' (Y) 'The child has a mind of his or her own.' (Y.Y.) 'It teaches us the value of money.' (Y.Y.)

Some adults agreed: 'They are not exploited more than other age groups e.g. housewives.' (A) 'Advertising and selling do not necessarily lead to exploitation.' (A) Alternatively, 'They will be exploited all their lives. They might as well get used to it.' (Y)

The majority opinion has been well documented elsewhere and does not need much illustration. 'Yes. More should be done in school to help them to evaluate.' (A) 'Only a few are capable of discrimination, the majority are extremely credulous.' (Y) 'This materialistic vampirizing does much to retard the emotional development of young people.' (A) 'The young are more vulnerable to advertising.' (A)

Two off-beat comments: 'Yes, when you have blown your top at the way they dress, ask who makes and supplies these clothes.' (A) 'It is also a bad thing that a past generation of teenagers grew up to do the exploiting.' (A)

13. *Most young people are sensible, responsible and mature. It is only a few who cause all the talk and criticism.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	83	10	7
Y.	85	5	10

Overwhelming approval here, from both sections. Most of the comments repeated or reinforced the statement. 'True: the few are the people who sit in coffee bars all day long brooding over life and the world's end.' (Y) The second sentence inspired some comments. Adults would talk and criticize *whatever* the adolescent did.' (A) 'Newspapers are a big cause of this, as they cash in on the bad side of life.' (Y) 'The people adults criticise are often the most alive and uninhibited.' (Y) 'Many young people make a cult of appearing irresponsible and cynical.' (A)

A few mild comments on the dissent side: 'This is over optimistic. How many *adults* are always sensible, responsible and mature?' (A)

'Some instead of most.' (Y) 'Yes, but this few is getting larger.' (Y)

14. *Adults expect contradictory things of adolescents. In some ways they seem to want them to remain children, and in other ways to be responsible and grown up.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	83	11	6
Y.	80	10	10

The assent vote was again high in both sections. Some, however, thought the adult reaction was natural and inevitable. 'In some ways they are children and in others responsible and grown up. It is not a matter of expecting.' (A) 'Adolescents are inevitably betwixt and between.' (A) 'Rightly, in that not all aspects of the personality reach maturity at the same time.' (A) 'The adolescents want this too.' (Y)

Many, particularly among the adolescents, were more critical of adult inconsistency and immaturity: 'Adults must learn to adapt themselves and their ideas to suit the age of their children. As the child matures, so must the parents' outlook.' (Y) 'Adults expect mature judgments from young people before they have had the opportunity to gain experience.' (A) 'Correct. They want to keep them in their charge and yet be mature enough to get responsible jobs!' (Y) 'Especially mothers—they don't want their child to grow up and leave them but conversely they want their child to outdo and outshine in every way every other child in the neighbourhood.' (Y) 'Parents will always regard their children, no matter how old they are, as irresponsible youths.' (Y) 'They do this only when it suits them.' (Y) 'Most adolescents are treated like babies.' (Y.Y.) 'At school they are asked to grow up, at home told they are growing up too quickly.' (Y.Y.)

15. *Adolescents seem to think they are already grown up, especially in relations between the sexes.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	59	26	15
Y.	66	25	9

A majority agreement of similar proportion in both sections. Some accepted the adolescent attitude as a reflection of the biological fact. 'Good for them! It is natural when they reach biological maturity.' (A) 'They are, biologically.' (A) 'Sexually we are mature so why is it wrong to know we are.' (Y)

Many, however, were very much aware of the problems posed by the time-lag between biological and other aspects of maturity in our society. 'Sexual maturity at an early age at a time when length of education is expanding poses one of the most serious problems of the young.' (A) 'Sexual maturity is reached before social responsibility is adequately developed.' (A) 'Uneducated adolescents do think they are already mature.' (Y) 'Yes. They are expected by each other to believe this. If you don't know the facts of life at thirteen or younger, you are laughed at.' (Y) 'Yes, because they know the facts they seem to think they know everything but they don't.' (Y) 'Yes, we want to dress and look older than we are and we often treat our parents as though we know everything.' (Y)

One adult thought the attitude was 'caused' by too much sex publicity and the low morals of modern books and plays. The following comments express various shades of dissent with the statement: 'They know they are *growing up*.' (A) 'Adolescents do not think of themselves as parents, thus not as grown up.' (A) 'They only want to appear so—many are as uncertain as most of their parents were.' (A) 'They have their own ideas about relations between the sexes which are not regarded as grown up ideas.' (A)

Finally there were these two somewhat enigmatic and contradictory comments: 'The sex life of a teenager is much more fertile than it ever was.' (Y) 'Most children do not think about this at all.' (Y.Y.)

16. *Many young people are given far too little responsibility when they first start work.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	46	23	31
Y.	45	37	18

Rather less than half of each section agreed

with this. The large proportion of queries came from those who felt they did not know enough about youth employment to give an opinion.

On the agreement side were these comments: 'All children (people) thrive on responsibility. Jobs need to be graded so that they can move step by step to more responsibility.' (A) 'In many cases beginners are made to feel absolutely insignificant.' (Y) 'Agreed. Most bosses regard them as being dim-wits and not capable of doing anything without messing it up. Teenagers usually get the worst jobs to do regardless of their qualifications.' (Y) 'You find yourself making tea.' (Y.Y.) 'Perhaps if we were given a little more responsibility, we might be a little more responsible.' (Y.Y)

If these represent a 'progressive' approach, the following put the traditional point of view on this question. 'They must begin at the bottom and *gradually* accept responsibility. Responsibility has to be earned.' (A) 'How can they have responsibility right away? But more could be done to make them feel their part in the work is important.' (A) 'Responsibility comes when a person has proved his worth.' (Y) 'One cannot start at the top to be a success.' (Y) 'True but too much responsibility can lead to the ruin of a teenager.' (Y.Y.)

Several adolescents thought that some young people did have a lot of responsibility in their work, and one made a plea for young workers being taught their jobs, not being required to act as a general factotum. Some adults thought the statement was true only of certain trades and industries, and others pointed out that the nature of the work might make it impossible to increase the measure of responsibility.

17. *Youth clubs don't appeal to the young people who would benefit most from attending them.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	53	21	26
Y.	46	38	16

About half in both sections thought this was true. A sizeable proportion of adults did

not know enough about youth clubs to have an opinion.

Some thought this inevitable, given the nature of the young people in question: others thought it was due to the nature of the clubs. 'True. Toughs don't like do-gooders.' (A) 'A small minority are unclubbable.' (A) 'These are the ones who *wouldn't* benefit. Not from that sort of youth club.' (A) 'Nothing constructive would appeal to them.' (Y) 'Some people just wouldn't take part in any social activity at all no matter how presented.' (Y)

There was considerable criticism of youth clubs from both sides. 'They would not be helped by clubs as they are.' (A) 'Youth clubs tend to have a do-good atmosphere which many young people resent.' (A) 'When young people try to run the youth clubs themselves, the adults do not trust them and interfere. Adults are preoccupied with appearances and what others will say.' (Y) 'Youth clubs are obsolete anyway.' (Y) 'The appeal is lacking—youth clubs don't advertise themselves and their doings enough and the premises are frequently cramped, squalid, and unattractive.' (Y) 'Most youth clubs are run by the Church or some religious movement, so consequently do not appeal to the youngsters.' (Y) 'The youth clubs I have attended do nothing at all for us.' (Y.Y.)

The clubs had their defenders: one adult thought they were changing to meet new needs; another felt that a good leader can get the ones who will benefit: a young person suggested that criticism was very often based on hearsay not experience. One adult disliked the therapeutic tone of the statement, 'Youth clubs are not hospitals or clinics. They should be formed by the young people, not provided.' (A) But another referred to them as 'social ambulance stations'.

18. *Adults can't talk. The first half of the twentieth century set up a record for violence and destruction. Now there is the H. bomb.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	50	30	20
Y.	45	26	29

50 per cent. of the adults accepted this charge. 'Touché' said one, speaking for many others. A good many adolescents agreed that the adults couldn't talk, but often did. 'The majority of adults refuse to acknowledge their mistakes and merely laugh at us when we demonstrate.' (Y)

On the other hand there were those who thought the charge against this generation of adults unwarranted: 'No one generation can be held responsible for a historical process stretching over many centuries.' (A) 'There always have been wars but never before have they been suggested years after as the cause of wrong behaviour in young people.' (A) 'It is a false supposition that each generation is responsible for the evil happenings of its own day.' (A)

One adult doubted if young people frequently think this way. 45 per cent. of our sample did, but some clearly did not. 'They probably said the same thing about *their* parents. There has been violence all through history.' (Y) 'This is untrue. They are being made the scapegoats of the teenagers.' (Y) 'It is not the fault of all adults but the politicians.' (Y.Y.)

Some defended the record of the Twentieth Century or found compensations. 'There is less violence within national states than ever before but the violence is more obvious.' (A) 'This first half of the century also saw the birth of U.N.O.' (A) 'The only thing that is stopping more destruction is the H. bomb.'

One adolescent thought it was not the *direct* fault of adults but rather their passiveness which could be blamed. 'This generation is at least active in part against violence—C.N.D. members are mainly young.' (Y) And an adult commented: 'The feeling that there is no guarantee of a future or of peaceful life is what makes this new generation *different* from any other.' (A) Finally two comments by young people which illustrate the wide extremes of feeling which this subject can evoke. 'It's not worth discussing. I find the H. bomb very frightening, so I try not to think about it. Nothing can be done about it.' (Y) 'If we leave it to our elders, we will all be wiped out. Let the teenagers take over a bit.' (Y.Y.)

19. *Young people mature earlier to-day and too little allowance is made for this by parents and teachers.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	74	21	5
Y.	65	20	15

The proportion of assent was high in both sections. No one doubted the earlier physical maturing but some questioned whether this affected other kinds of maturation. 'Physically yes, but I doubt whether this has any effect on mental development.' (A) 'Some of this maturity is only on the surface and they feel unsure underneath.' (A) 'What is «maturity» — it is not necessarily synonymous with growth in wisdom or knowledge or emotional and spiritual growth.' (A) 'Get married — yes, mature — I think not.' (Y).

On the question of what allowance *can* be made: 'How does one make allowance for it. Our culture is not geared for teenage sex.' (A) 'A lot of allowance is made but often of a kind that lacks understanding.' (A) 'It is difficult to make allowance for physical and emotional maturity, whilst maturity of mind is still to come.' (Y) 'True. I think parents and teachers know about earlier maturity but there is little they can do about it.' (Y) 'Allowance is made by teachers especially to sixth-formers. Parents are not so good.' (Y).

But this is not every person's experience: 'Yes — especially by teachers.' (Y) 'Allowance is made in some ways not in others. We are not allowed to express ourselves. We are forced to wear school uniform etc.' (Y). But according to one young person, 'The situation is slowly being improved, due to the publicity of Freud etc.' (Y).

20. *Adolescents often demand freedom before they are ready for it.*

	Agree	Disagree	Query
A.	63	24	13
Y.	54	35	11

A good majority in each section agreed but this did not mean that they disapproved of the demanding process, as the following comments reveal. 'The demand for freedom (as in

nations) is the beginning of readiness for it.' (A) 'It is normal to want this.' (A) 'True, so do undeveloped countries. The difficulty is to know when they are ready for freedom.' (A) 'The process of maturation involves this demanding against opposing social and adult pressures.' (A) 'Neither men nor nations are ever *ready* for freedom while they are not free, and the right use of freedom can only be learned through exercise of it.' (A) 'Of course. To prove to themselves they're not frightened of it. It would be a dirty trick to give them *all* they demand.' (A) 'They don't perhaps really *want* it but require to assert their right to demand it.' (A).

Many of the adolescents agreed with this. 'They are ready when they feel it.' (Y) 'Only they themselves know when they are ready.' (Y.Y.) 'Who decides when one is ready for the freedom of adulthood? I feel the adults should *not* decide but should guide and advise through these difficult periods.' (Y) 'It is the adults who think we are not ready for it. We nearly always show we can use our freedom when it is given. We can only learn to be independent by having freedom and using it.' (Y).

And there were many comments like, 'Haven't they always?' and 'So does everyone.' Some wondered whether adults should not anticipate the demand rather more and 'risk giving it a little too soon rather than too late.' (A) 'Children should have appropriate freedom, from the nursery on.' (A) 'The more sensible youngsters find freedom without demanding it, if their behaviour shows responsibility, integrity etc.' (Y).

The following were minority comments. 'True but they should not be granted this freedom because it soon leads to juvenile delinquency.' (Y) 'The majority do not demand freedom.' (Y.Y.) 'They don't receive this freedom anyhow, so what's all the fuss about?' (Y).

Additional Adolescent Responses

During the planning of the project, the leader of Group D reported that he could arrange for the statements to be submitted to a larger sample of young people who were members of youth clubs in the Home Coun-

ties. This was thought to be a good idea and the analysis of the responses of all the young people — 253, including the 80 taking part in the full project — is given below for comparison.

	Agree	Disagree	Query
1.	20	70	10
2.	40	53	7
3.	66	16	18
4.	22	60	18
5.	50	37	13
6.	76	16	8
7.	35	52	13
8.	55	34	11
9.	63	32	5

	Agree	Disagree	Query
10.	60	28	12
11.	34	27	39
12.	53	30	17
13.	88	6	6
14.	85	6	9
15.	63	17	20
16.	45	31	24
17.	58	21	21
18.	44	23	33
19.	80	9	11
20.	66	19	15

An interesting feature of the additional responses was the very wide variation among the groups on some of the statements e.g. 2,5, and 12.

Salient Things Said in Each Group

New Estate Girls (Group A)

GIRLS aged 13–14, attending a Secondary Modern school in a Council Estate on the edge of a Midland city. There is a similar boys' school adjoining, both built after the second World War, to accommodate 600 + children each. They have both had to fit in about 900 during the bulge period, some in very undesirable temporary hutments. There are Primary schools and a girls' Grammar and Technical school in a new building on the same campus. The Estate was the first post-war housing development undertaken by the city. The priorities were (a) the rapid provision of houses for families with young children. (b) provision for the education of the children. The result, as described in a recent survey, is 'an elongated mass of streets and houses sprawling over a distance of two or three miles.' The area was planned to have one large community and education centre. This is still in process of development and at present includes large areas of waste ground. Meanwhile, the activities of the future community centre, library, county college and so on have to be carried on in temporary or improvised buildings. There is no provision at all for a good many recreational and social ac-

tivities. Young people and older people seeking these would have to travel some miles to the centre or other parts of the city.

The survey notes 'Outside school hours there is nothing to hold the interest and boisterousness of the abnormally large child and adolescent population. Organized centres tend to exclude far more than they include . . . There is an urgent need it would seem for activity centres to be provided for school-age children, at times which span the vacuum between end of school and bed-time.' 'Work of youth clubs with adolescents seems to be limited through lack of provision of the right sort.

Of special relevance to the children in this group is the effect of the 1944 Education Act in raising the age at which they could be enrolled at evening classes: 'the fact remains that until they are 15 neither Evening Institutes nor Youth Centres will enrol them as members. The official point of view seems to be that boys and girls do not enter a period of youth until they are approaching 15 years of age.'

A consequence of the large number of mothers in full or part-time employment is that 'between 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. many children of Primary school age and the younger Secondary Modern children have complete freedom to do what they like till their parents

get home from work . . . Voluntary organizations take a fraction and give them social activities and hobbies, but the great majority find their pleasure and their mischief on the streets How to syphon these boys and girls from the streets is a desperate problem.'

In the second session, after some discussion on the Statements, the group leader suggested they might like to produce some statements of their own about themselves, the kind of things they would like to say to a group of adults; perhaps it could be arranged for them to meet one of the adult groups later and say them. The following statements were produced by members of the group and agreed to by the rest. (Where there was some disagreement this is indicated):

(i) You often talk as if we were all alike; and we are very different.

(ii) We want to run our own social lives not have them run for us. (There was some dissent to the effect that this can be overdone, they did need some guidance.)

(iii) Parents don't realize enough that times have changed from when they were our age.

(iv) We don't get enough help and advice about the kinds of work we might do when we leave school — especially the less usual things.

(v) We need more in the way of entertainment on this estate e.g. a swimming pool, a dance hall, more and better youth centres, riding facilities.

(vi) We need more pocket money. (Some had 7/6d to 10/- a week which was felt reasonable but some had much less than this.)

(vii) We would like to work on Saturdays to feel independent but we can't until we are fifteen.

(viii) Re. school leaving age, nobody wanted it raised to 16. Some thought 15 all right, one or two thought it should be earlier than fifteen.

(ix) We need more pre-vocational training in school and preparation for work.

(x) We need to have more responsibility than we are given — in general they treat us as younger than we are.

(xi) We need more tennis courts and other games facilities, more needlework provision

and to be able to take library books home.

(xii) We need more free periods in school when we can work at what we choose.

(xiii) Classes move round in school; we'd prefer it if the teachers moved round.

(xiv) We feel the girls at the nearby Grammar School have better provision, equipment and treatment. Why should they?

(xv) Some thought the discipline could be stricter but others disagreed.

(xvi) The furniture provided in schools should be made for *growing* people.

(xvii) It is stupid to have boy friends before 14; but half the group disagreed and thought 10 to 11 was the age to begin having boy friends.

In the next session it was suggested they might produce in the same way statements about their attitudes toward adults and their relations with them.

This is what they produced:

At school we are expected to behave like grown ups but at home are regarded as children (half of the group disagreed with this and said they had many responsibilities at home).

Teachers expect us to be responsible but don't give us enough responsibility. (Two disagreed with the second part of this).

Some teachers are always making comparisons between classes and talking as if one could be good *all* the time.

Parents ought to keep up with the fashions in dress etc. a bit more. (Three disagreed either because their parents did or because they didn't mind.)

Many things that used to be allowed are now forbidden and it is a pity. The mentioned playing in the streets, and climbing trees as examples. There was quite a discussion about *Where* they were supposed to play on the estate. In the park? But it's *empty*, there's nothing there; and you aren't supposed to climb the trees.

Some felt their parents chose things for them, clothes e.g. instead of letting them choose. Some had no complaints about this.

Nine of them wished their parents didn't lose their tempers so much — 'go up in the air'.

In general parents were too *concerned*, al-

ways saying 'mind' and 'don't'.

Seven of the group felt that parents shouldn't quarrel when the children were present; two said their parents didn't.

Parents won't admit they are wrong in arguments with their children. There was strong feeling about this and they were unanimous.

In the fourth and fifth meetings (10 members present) the question of responsibility and freedom, which had been touched on earlier, was taken up again and discussed in some detail. Half the group were very positive that they would like more responsibility in matters concerning their leisure time and social activities, when they went out and came in, choice of friends and clothes etc; they felt their parents tended to worry and get anxious unnecessarily, not trust them to look after themselves, to lecture and nag. The other half felt they were given as much responsibility at home as they wanted at their age; one added however that she thought more responsibility could be given them at school in their age group, i.e. the third year. In some ways, they had been given more responsibility as 'senior' members of a junior school than they now had in the third year of a secondary school. This led to an interesting discussion on the nature of the responsibility they were talking about, put in a nutshell by one girl's question: 'Is responsibility being *trusted* to do something or is it just a job we are told to do?'

Asked about the jobs they were expected to do at home, they mentioned looking after younger children and helping with the housework. Only two girls of this group definitely liked the former and eight emphatically did not. On the latter a varied picture emerged; two felt they were being asked to do too much, four did quite a lot but liked it, and four were not being asked to do much. Of the different aspects of housecraft, nine definitely enjoyed cookery, seven decorating and furnishing, five needlework, and six cleaning and laundry work.

On the question of freedom, only one girl said she had enough at home and at school. The rest wanted more freedom to go out when they liked, to stay out later, to choose

their own friends and spend their money on what they wanted to buy. While asking for more freedom in these respects, the group felt equally strongly that in other respects they did not receive enough help and guidance from adults: (a) in the provision of facilities for their leisure time activities and (b) in preparation for and guidance about the work they might do when they left school. On the latter they felt that their parents were not able to help much, and the guidance facilities provided at school did not apply to them but only to the girls within a few months of leaving.

This, like the discussion on responsibility, highlighted some of the deeper issues; the discrepancy, for example, between the needs of growing children constantly moving from one stage to the next, and the classifications of an administrative system. From the point of view of the administrators (not of the school staff, which was fully aware of this problem) these girls were too young to have vocational, or even pre-vocational, needs; in fact they were much preoccupied with thoughts of what lay ahead, of the life beyond school.

Denied realistic outlets, it was largely fantasy thinking. How did they feel about leaving school? 'Frightened to death,' said one. 'What will happen if you do wrong?' said another. 'Do you get swiped or get the sack?' 'Will people stare at us as newcomers?' 'We want to be told about the exciting things we might do, not shops and factories.'

On a more realistic level, they were asking for visits to various work places, visits from people engaged in them, and more school work geared to vocational needs and interests. They agreed that something was done about this later on, but from their point of view it should begin earlier.

In the remaining sessions the discussion turned again to the young people's attitudes to and feelings about grown-ups. It can best be summarized by giving some of the responses to some questions that emerged from the discussion:

What do you feel you most need from grown up people? 'Understanding and trust.' 'More freedom and a lot of love.' 'More guidance.'

What do you feel grown up people most want from you? 'I think what they need from us is their faith toward us if ever we are in trouble.' 'We help them to feel young but old as we grow up.' 'More obedience and no disobedience. But sometimes you have got to disobey.' 'They would like us to trust them.'

In what way do you feel that grown up people are very different from you? 'As times change, we must change with them and they don't seem to realize that.' 'Grown up people just trudge along in life and expect us to do the same. I don't want to do this.' 'They are too concerned over little unimportant things, and miserable.'

In what ways do you feel grown up people are most like you? The commonest answer here was 'in no way.' 'They are human as well. That is about all,' and one added 'except my mother is a girl and I am.'

What kinds of things in you do you find most adults disapprove of? Several said, in effect, 'almost everything'. Among the specific things mentioned were going out at night, dating boys, the clothes they want to wear, the language they use.

What kinds of things do you find most adults approve of? Several said they did not seem to approve of anything; 'except us going to bed out of the way,' one added; and another: 'They approve of me stopping in which I hate.'

What age would you choose to be if you could change? One said the same age but most chose ages between 15 and 18.

What kind of privileges or freedom that adults have do you most look forward to? The answers included staying out later, looking after oneself, getting married, and going out to work.

What kind of responsibilities that adults have do you least look forward to? This they found difficult to answer but one said, 'Making ends meet,' and another, 'Cleaning and washing up the house'. One said, 'Looking after yourself when you are very old.'

They then went on to consider how they would deal with their own children if they were parents and this led to lively discussion on punishments. The punishments they had

themselves most resented included being sent to bed, being kept in at nights, being hit, 'being ignored for days at a time', and 'when nothing has been said about the thing I have done!' Asked what kind of punishments they had regarded as most fair, several said none but two mentioned 'a good hiding' and one 'a telling off.'

This group also had a joint meeting with one of the Adult groups. Reference to this will be made in the report on the Adult group in question.

Young Adolescents from a Northern Industrial Centre (Group B)

This group consisted of 6 boys and 6 girls aged 13—14 drawn from Form 3A of a Secondary Modern School in a northern town (30,000); social background skilled working class or lower middle class. Attendance and response were good. Members became more fluent as they became used to the permissive situation and, by the end, the discussion came entirely from the group, without prompting. Five members (2 girls and 3 boys) came to dominate the discussions, with one boy acting as leader and one girl expressing views widely divergent and unorthodox. Four of the girls made relatively few contributions to the discussion. The general atmosphere was friendly and co-operative and members remained after the discussion to play records or chat.

Responsibility and freedom: School was felt to be the greatest restriction on their behaviour, attitudes ranging from mild grumbles about homework to longing for the day of leaving. They felt that most adolescents were responsible and thoughtful and spent their money sensibly on things they wanted. They felt they should be free to do this and in general to be free and unattached during their teens, though several of the girls mentioned that some young people matured very early and might be ready for marriage at 17. The need to be free to 'enjoy yourself,' especially in the holidays, was generally recognized.

Relations and attitudes between age groups:

In general the attitude toward adults in this group was tolerant and reasonable, only one member, the girl mentioned above, being consistently critical. They agreed that parents did not understand them, especially in matters related to their leisure time interests and personal relationships. But they also agreed that adolescents didn't understand parents and they were not greatly worried by this gap in understanding, provided they had reasonable freedom, which they had in most cases.

They considered most teachers understood them better than their parents but didn't usually treat them so well. Inconsistent and irrational treatment (as they felt it) and tiresome insistence on rules about dress etc., were the things they most objected to. They were aware of different codes of behaviour for themselves and adults, but were critical more of what they felt to be 'sham' standards than of their not being allowed to do things permitted to adults. An example was the classification of films. They had seen most of the X films shown in the area and had not found them particularly upsetting. They felt the most fortunate children were those with an older brother or sister of 18 or 19 to confide in.

Social change. They were all aware of the rapid technical and social developments going on to-day, were all interested in science fiction and felt that these interests set them apart from their parents. They accepted pressure in school mainly because they realized that higher qualifications were constantly being demanded outside school. Nine of them said they would be prepared to live abroad and showed great interest in America and the Commonwealth.

There was a clear realization that mobility would be essential in the future though they preferred the community life of a small town like their own to that of a large city, and were distrustful of London and the South generally. They all assumed that they would buy their own houses and the boys expected to defer marriage until they could raise a deposit. The girls all assumed they would have a family and resume employment after the

children were at school.

Other topics discussed. Among the many topics which came up for discussion were the following: honesty, Christianity, school uniforms, heroes, good and bad human qualities, having a good time, unhappiness, history, holidays, dancing, America, the H. bomb, popular singers, popular records, ideal boy and girl, marriage, youth clubs, fighting, favourite magazines and books, television programmes, films.

The predominant response of the group was to discuss all matters as fully and reasonably as was possible. There was vigorous expression of differences of opinion and thoughtful consideration of other people's points of view. The following is a summary of the final discussion on the question of the best age to start school: 'Three was suggested at first, but one girl said that four was a good age because her nephew was asking lots of questions and he was just four. A boy objected that the first year seemed to be just playing about; they didn't seem to do the alphabet or any real work. Another boy said that it must be very hard for a little child to get used to being away from home and in a school, so the first year should be fairly easy. The group agreed that four or five was the best age as six or seven was too late to start learning things in 'these modern times'.

The group went on to discuss the inadvisability of mothers leaving children before they were three. This last point was illustrated by a girl who said her brother went to hospital when he was two and cried terribly when he went in. However, when his hospitalization was over, he didn't want to come out. They also commented that grandparents were nice, but that children shouldn't be left with them too long because they would get spoiled.

Co-educational

Sixth Form Group (Group C)

This group consisted of 8 boys and 5 girls from the sixth-form of a grammar school near London. Some group members were studying Arts subjects, some Science. The area of the school is typical suburbia, with patches of

industrialization. Discussions took place in school time, competing with the activities in the music room next door and frequent low flying aircraft overhead.

The group showed keen interest from the first and readily co-operated but took some time in getting around to direct discussion with each other instead of *via* the group leader. Discussion on the responses brought out the following viewpoints, mainly on their attitudes to parents:

Parents' ideas are so traditional that you know how they will respond on any issue.

Parents are too immersed in their own affairs. A girl said: Sometimes I come home all excited about something that has happened at school, then I tell my mother and she just says «Oh, yes» and it makes the whole thing so flat.'

Another girl said her parents did take an interest in daily events and she used this as a smoke screen so as to keep the really important things to herself. A boy said he got bored with his parents always asking him how he got on at school. 'This bores me because school really bores me although I know I have to get through my exams.' Others agreed with this. One said, 'Perhaps you like one subject you do, but the others you just *have* to do.

There was general agreement too among the boys that there were some things you did not want to share with anyone, others you would share with friends and no one else; and there were other things you could discuss generally with your parents.

Some found difficulty in discussing *anything* with fathers. 'They just *know*.' But there was also some sympathy shown for the parents, who could not be expected to keep up in times of rapid change. It was said, and not challenged, that perhaps girls found it easier to talk to their mothers than boys did to talk to either parent. There was some variance on whether one shared things with brothers and sisters.

Communication with adults was taken up again in the following session, with particular reference to the areas where it was felt to be most difficult. 'They won't treat seriously that we might want to get engaged,' one said, and

there was general agreement. They knew they were not likely to get engaged or married for some time' but resented the parental reaction that they were too immature even to think of it. 'You don't know your own mind yet' was a *cliché* that aroused particular resentment. The group was convinced they were quite capable of understanding their own emotional behaviour and not acting foolishly. 'We are adult,' a boy said, 'it is silly of parents not to realize it.'

The girls agreed that love affairs were freely discussed with their friends, but the boys were divided on this, one feeling that to talk of one's deepest feelings except with the person concerned was a kind of betrayal. The girls felt boys were not so percipient and sensitive about relationships as they should be. 'You can go out with a boy feeling awful about something that has happened and he doesn't even notice.' But this was denied by some of the boys.

Communication was also difficult on the topic of when to come in at night. There were complaints about 'unintelligent' and 'unreasonable' restrictions, and the refusal to discuss them. But it was clear that some were being treated reasonably, and accepted responsibility for keeping sensible times. 'Waiting up' by parents was much resented as a mark of distrust, and also perhaps because it spoiled the evening to have to chat about it the moment they got home with parents who were not really very interested.

On communication with teachers much variety was reported. Some treated them in an adult way, others only claimed that they did. 'Teachers always miss a lot,' one said, meaning things going on in the class during lessons. 'But we don't want teachers to pry' another example of the ambivalence embedded in the relations of young people with adults.

In the next session there was further consideration of the ideas about which the generations differ. A discussion on dress brought out the general point that the young people's question is, 'What do I feel like doing on this occasion and if I feel like it, will it be all right to do it?' It was felt that many adults had

fixed ideas about such things as coming — in times (being out after midnight was regarded as 'definitely immoral' so was long hair on males). One boy said of his father, 'He expects me to be like he was and he prided himself on being like his father. It goes back for ever.'

There followed a long discussion about the obtuseness of parents at parties. They fussed too much, were too concerned with appearances. There were reports of fathers coming in and breaking up the party. 'He makes me feel dreadful. It is so *rude*.' And another. 'If he intended to do that, he should have told me beforehand and I would have seen they left earlier.' 'My parents think a party ought to be sitting about on chairs with a plate of sandwiches on your knee.' 'And playing silly games,' another added.

The group leader asked what they thought parties *were* for. 'Meeting each other,' was the general answer. 'Music' and 'You drink,' were added. 'A glass or two, not much, enough to liven things up.' There was less smoking than formerly. The general feeling was that you have to have parents out of the way if a party was to have any chance. But there were exceptions to this, in particular two of the girls, who throughout held the view that parents, at any rate mothers, can be friendly and helpful and are not difficult to get on with.

On their relations with the other sex, there was a general awareness of parental anxiety and embarrassment and a feeling that they could work things out in their own way without running the risks about which the parents were alarmed. A long discussion followed on the problems facing those who stayed on at school after 15, the sacrifice for the parents (some of whom rubbed it in), the anxiety about failure, the need to earn something on the side to keep up personal interests.

What seemed to emerge from these later discussions was that points of conflict or difficulty between the members of this group and their elders were not in the realm of ideas—religion, sex, politics—but in the realm of more practical affairs—dress, appearance, coming in times, how parties are run, money problems, problems of staying on at school, and of the personal right to make decisions.

In the final session one girl said she had sometimes got something making her miserable off her chest by talking to a stranger about it. This may point to the need for some kind of counselling, to provide the role of confidant, often taken in the past by some sympathetic relative or neighbour not closely involved in the problems under discussion.

Young People in Further Education (Group D)

This group consisted of 8 young men and 4 young women, ages 17—20, the former craft apprentices attending courses in Technical Colleges in one of the home counties, the latter shorthand typists. Previous education: 7 Secondary Modern, 3 Secondary Grammar or Technical, 2 Public School.

A number of points of special interest to this group emerged in the earlier discussions on the Statements; these were taken up again in the later discussions under the general headings agreed on at the Group Leaders' meeting.

Responsibility and freedom. There was a clear and unanimous feeling in this group that respect for older people arose from positive personal relationships. Nobody in the group had any clear memory of a positive effect on their attitudes by their teachers at school. They had felt anonymous for most of their school careers—only those staying on for sixth form remembered any real two-way communication with teachers. They felt youth club leaders were in a better position to establish this because of the different atmosphere in a club, but realized that club membership was self-selective.

In the work situation, the most urgent wish was to be accepted by a group of contemporaries, and next to this the wish to be absorbed by their fully adult workmates. They were aware of tensions arising from deviations in attitude between older and younger workers in such matters as drink, swearing, gambling and sex.

They felt that the most potent influence was that of the parents; children need above all security, which involves trust and good

example; this need for security diminishes with age but remains a long time, and longer with girls than boys. The need for personal freedom became paramount in the older adolescent but guidance should be available when required. The commonest source of friction was parental resentment at the desire for increasing personal freedom, and jealousy over increasing preoccupation with friends and outside interests. But irritating attention was better than complete indifference.

The responsibilities of young people were thought of largely in terms of respecting the sensibilities of parents in this 'growing out of the home' situation. They were much aware of this and of the 'quizzing' and 'inspection' that went on when they visited girl or boy friends' homes. There was some disagreement as to whether older or younger parents tended to be more tolerant. Parents' friends were recognized as a source of influence. The clergy as a group were felt to have little influence on most young people.

Relationships with and attitudes toward adults: The way they regarded older people was mainly influenced by the degree of consideration given by these to the opinions, suggestions and ideas of the youngsters. They didn't mind disagreement and rejection of their ideas, provided they were taken seriously and reasons given. They valued in adults (a) willingness to help when they needed it (b) readiness to devote time and effort to deal with their questions and problems and (c) an awareness of them as individuals and persons.

In seeking advice on personal problems, the main barriers were fear of embarrassment and the expectation of receiving moral judgments instead of practical advice and assistance. Because of this, help was often sought from older workmates and friends rather than parents. The possibility of some form of counselling service for young people was discussed. On the existing facilities for vocational guidance there was criticism both of the inadequate range of what was presented and the ineffectiveness of the presentation. There appeared to be much scope for the expansion of vocational guidance and job consciousness in Se-

condary Modern schools and the use of this kind of motivation in courses for the less academic.

Those with grammar and public school experience recalled a stage of frustration around 15—16 because they had felt more mature than their teachers recognized. The system gave them little more responsibility than they had had in the earlier forms. This situation was resolved in the sixth form for those who stayed on, but was the cause of much stress and wastage while it lasted.

Those who had attended Secondary Modern schools had been 'seniors' at 15 and given prefect responsibilities; the problem in these schools was rather the feeling of lack of relevance between school curriculum and the outside world, especially for boys. The girls in these schools had marriage in mind from 13—14 onwards and found much relevance in domestic subjects.

On the question of adequate responsibility being given to young workers, considerable variation was found, particularly between the girls who had been basically trained for their office work before taking up posts and the boys learning skilled trades and commencing as complete novices with the particular machines and conditions of their work.

Social change. The group were much aware of the changes going on in our society's evaluation of different kinds of work and of the financial rewards offered. They felt that teachers, at any rate in the early years, were not adequately rewarded in view of the nature of their work and the length of their training.

With regard to leisure time pursuits, they felt what was needed was better publicity for all age levels, giving specific information about what activities were available and where and what was involved in participating.

They were much aware that their parents' attitudes about sex relations were different from their own, and thought there might be similar differences between their own attitude and their childrens'. Sex instruction they felt to be the responsibility of the parent rather than the teacher, though there was discussion on the adequacy of the parents to carry out this responsibility. They felt the way questions

were answered in the early years was most important.

They were aware of lacks in their own social education, in particular the failure of their earlier training to give them as much articulateness and confidence as they felt they now needed. They retained a firm impression of largely one-way communication at school, with little opportunity for verbal participation in lessons and little provision for informal discussion on topics which would have been relevant and stimulating. Those who had had opportunities to practise verbal facility in group discussion since leaving school testified to its value. It gave them confidence and reduced the fear of embarrassment, about which as adolescents they were most sensitive.

They were not however particularly embarrassed, they reported, by ignorance of or failure to comply with conventions in dress, table manners, forms of address etc. They felt these were regarded as much less important to day than formerly, and a greater flexibility was accepted. It would appear that the embarrassment they were afraid of concerned inadequacies at a deeper level than matters of social convention.

Northern Mining Villages and their Adolescents (Group E)

This group consisted of young people from working class families in a mining area in northern England. The girls worked in shops, offices or factories. Of the boys, two were unemployed, one was a butcher, others worked in a foundry or at the pit top; two worked at the coalface, one was an apprentice.

The group leader comments that people in this mining community find it difficult to express themselves and have a strong antipathy toward making statements that reveal their deeper thoughts, or that could be remotely construed as showing off. Much time was needed to get them down to discussion and they had gradually to learn, through many means, how to talk on the general issues raised by the Statements. Another difficulty was that traditionally one never gives anything away to a neighbour or to anyone who might be

remotely construed as the boss. To a certain extent this was overcome by asking for help on the project in a straightforward fashion. At one point the recorder was encouraged to ask for help from the group as to what would be the best attitude for her to adopt toward her teenage daughter. This was the biggest single factor in reducing tensions and facilitating an easier flow.

In this area parental control is strong and tends to be vigorously enforced, and this is in general accepted by the young. Nevertheless the majority would agree with one boy who said, 'I listen and then do as I like.' One got the impression throughout the discussion that these young people, while liking and respecting adults, particularly in their families, did feel that despite the pull of tradition they were set apart from the older generation. They shared certain experiences, but gave one to understand that adults are not of their world. It would be true to say, however, that the discussions seemed to make them more tolerant of adults. It was quite clear that, though they tended to lean very much on the older generation when in difficulties, they preferred to discuss their worries with their contemporaries. Some illustrations of these attitudes are given below from comments made during the discussions:

Freedom and responsibility: 'Doing a proper job is itself a responsibility. You should prove that you can do it before responsibility is given.' 'Freedom is being able to do what you want with your money.' 'It's like brainwashing really. You accept because you are brought up that way.' 'Freedom — it's the only topic I didn't want to talk about. You just can't talk about it. Adults — you can't get away from it — adults rule'. 'My parents object if I stay out all night if I don't let them know. I really do wish I could do that.' 'I'd like to do things without my parents always asking me where I was going and what I was doing.'

'Adolescents can't demand freedom because nobody is ever free. It's supposed to be a free country but it isn't.' 'I just want to be old enough for freedom. I've as much as I want for now.' 'No one is free unless they live

entirely alone on a desert island — no responsibility, no income-tax to pay.' 'We're not given enough responsibility.' 'Freedom covers a massive thing. Freedom at home is only a small part of it. Freedom at work — I don't think I get enough at home or at work. At work I don't — the boss is that type of person — they all are — they show their authority.' 'It doesn't matter about giving freedom — you take it.' 'I am free to do what I want, when I want, how I want, why I want.' 'If everybody had freedom to do what they wanted, it would be a jungle.' 'I have enough freedom. Conscience and morality guide me.'

Relations with adults. 'When a group of fathers got to know their boys were misbehaving, they got together and met the boys in the street and gave them a good hiding. Then they took them home and gave them another belting.' 'My parents play war when I come in late but don't let it drop. They start up again next morning. I usually make up a few white lies. My parents put their point of view and I agree they're usually right, but I'll still do it again.' 'I think if I had a different set of parents they wouldn't worry so much.'

'I tell my parents that I like a boy for what he is not what he ought to be.' 'I think the easiest way is to humour parents, to keep the peace.' 'I respect adults' opinions.' 'Parents shouldn't "make them do", should just advise.' 'My dad enjoys me to say "C'mon, let's go for a drink". They never let me grow up too quickly but they treated me too young up to being 18.' 'I loved it when I once heard my dad swear and that's when I was 16 years old.' 'You should do as your parents do.' 'If my parents give a logical explanation for not doing a thing, it's O.K. If not, I'd go my own way anyway.'

'We have a chap at work and if he tells you to do something he must spell the person's name out. He treats you as though you were an idiot.' 'There's one person I always respected at school. Quite a lot of teachers always try to 'pull' their authority. This chap could lose his teacher's attitude and really talk to you. He was firstclass at his job and I really respected him.' 'Don't you ever think about worrying your parents before you do things?'

'The only person I don't get on with is my sister-in-law. She's possessive with my brother. She resents the fact she didn't know him before we did. She likes to think she knows him better than we do. She doesn't like to share him. He's never allowed to show me any affection and she bristles. She's childish.'

'There's more at stake with young people; You have a lot more in common. And you don't have to be involved so much with older people. I can get on with older people quicker.' 'I don't get on with any of the chaps at work, but it's usual. They try to help but like to show me up.' 'I wish I could get out of my parents' debt. My mother is always saying «Do you know how much you owe us?» If I take things too far they bring that out and knock me down a bit.' 'It's yackety-yack from my mother if I'm late. Most parents nag when you're late home.' 'I argue but I still respect their judgement.' 'Dad usually sides with me. Mum worries more than dad.' 'My dad sympathizes when I come in late but mother objects.' 'I'd discuss things with the youth leader 'cos he's like one of the boys. My father would blow his top before he came round to discussing it. The youth leader wouldn't though — he's not involved, though he's like a father.'

Social changes: 'Men are more free with their language than they used to be. It used to be unheard of to say certain things, but now they don't mind.' 'Women used to have a horrible life at one time. Even men used to have to ask their fathers if they could take them out.' 'Their money seemed to go further than ours.' 'You just don't do things like that these days. It's up to the girl not her father. You don't ask her father if it's just a casual date. You meet a girl at a dance, ask her what she's doing next Friday. You don't ask her father.' 'In the past the man of the house used to be the gaffer.' 'My mother thinks when you start taking a girl home to tea it's a steady girlfriend.' 'My father thinks we don't look forward to things nowadays because we do things regularly. They enjoyed them because they only had these events occasionally and it was something to look forward to.' 'My mother compared my life with that of hers.'

Her father used to go home and say to his wife, 'Well lass, if favourite comes in tha'll have t'housekeeping money, if not tha'll have to wait till next Sunday.' 'I don't think the answer is that things are more plentiful to-day — I think it's because we are spoilt.' 'There's a lot of younger people go to dances these days. When you go to a dance now you always find 13—14 year olds.' 'The Youth Leader told me she didn't think we are normal because we don't carry on as much as anyone else. In H... a friend of hers knows girls younger than us and they have intercourse regularly but to me it's very wrong.' 'When I was 15—16 I felt at a loss. There didn't seem to be anything to do.' 'If manners were so good in the past, why are adults as they are to-day?'

Graduates Preparing for Teaching (Group F)

This group consisted of nine men and one woman, all in their early twenties, whose years of economic dependence had been extended beyond that of their peers owing to their selection for University education and their choice of career. The report shows that some of them at least did not find this fact of dependence easy to accept. Furthermore, since all of them were shortly to accept the responsibilities of teachers of adolescents, they were acutely aware of the need to find some sort of answer to the very baffling problems which they discussed.

At the first meeting, the Statements were received with comments about the impossibility of dealing with generalizations of this kind. But they agreed they were the kind of statements they had frequently heard people making. In the next two meetings the group explored the range of differences between adults and adolescents in matters of taste and morality. The general point was made that adults treated adolescents as children in many respects because it was easier, i.e. there was real difficulty in reaching any clear answers on the role of those in our society who are not children and not adults. They themselves, young adults but still students, suffered from this difficulty: on the one hand expected to

take charge of children in classrooms, on the other classified as financially dependent on their parents.

The group went on to discuss the question of freedom and guidance. It was felt young people wanted freedom to make decisions of their own wherever this was feasible: they did indeed need guidance, especially in matters of morality: but they found it difficult to accept it in the form offered by many adults because this was based on an older model. The goals and values of the two were felt to be completely different, and the image presented by the elders was not acceptable to the young. Furthermore there was less agreement among the adults both about the nature of morality and the content of the moral code: everyone had to work it out for himself. There was much debate and disagreement in this session — and an air of frustration — as if the moral confusion and atomization affected them too.

It is not perhaps surprising that in the next session the discussion began on delinquency. The phenomenon of the gang was examined, as arising from their need for mutual support, their non-acceptance by adults as equals, protest against being treated as children, and often sheer boredom in a society which did not give them a 'place' of their own and distinctive roles and characteristics. For example, the age at which economic independence and productive work begins can vary from 15 to 25, so this cannot be taken as a sign of adult status, though much adult behaviour revolves round it. They discussed this variety, without resentment, in terms of their own position compared with that of younger siblings who enjoyed economic independence. There is nothing like an initiation ceremony in our society, marking the end of a phase of dependence and the assumption of status as a young adult.

The group then went on to discuss responsibility. The difficulty of giving young people more responsibility in a society which progressively extended the period of dependence and immaturity was fully realized. What does giving responsibility mean in this context? Especially for those whose full time education may extend to 22 or later? For others, industrialization means that many jobs are repet-

itive and boring. Reference was made to the 'rat-race' aspect of our society on the one hand and the 'welfare state' aspect on the other, with their different effects on the individual's feelings of responsibility. The very complexity and vastness of the problems facing us to-day tended to reduce the feeling of personal responsibility. 'How can my small influence make any difference?'

It was suggested that responsibility involved a concern for the future not just the present, for ends as well as means, and for others as well as oneself. 'Responsibility means considering what you put into life not what you get out of it.' And responsibility was seen as linked with freedom, in the sense that a responsible decision is one we make for ourselves not one made for us by others. The need to educate young people in such a way that they are able to make this kind of decision was stressed.

The next and last session followed a joint meeting with a group of older adults in which strong views had been expressed by one member of that group on pre-marital sex relations. This precipitated a discussion in this group on trial marriages etc. There was marked disagreement and some acrimonious interchanges between those who upheld the 'Christian' point of view on this and the 'hedonists'. They could not agree on the criteria to be used in assessing moral behaviour.

The characteristics of this group's discussions as they appeared to the group leader, were summarized as follows:

1. Their strenuous efforts to explore the realities of the situation and to avoid slick answers.
2. Their concern to preserve for everyone — young or adult — an essential freedom to be and to become themselves.
3. Their willingness to persist through several meetings which were extremely frustrating to everyone because they were looking at problems and seeing no solutions.
4. The restraint of the committed Christians in the group, who often did most of the listening during the meetings until the last one, which became a ding-dong battle between the two sub-groups.

New Estate Parents (Group G)

This group consisted of ten adults (eight women, two men) most of them parents of children attending the school on the Estate described in the account of Group A. The group leader was headmistress of the school and another member of staff (a man) was a group member, but these particular parents were unknown to them before the project began and they were not the parents of any of the children in Group A. To begin with, discussion was somewhat stilted, but the group loosened up over tea and the consideration of the Statements, and by the fourth session were exchanging experiences on the changes since they were young, and in particular the changing roles of men and women and their expectations for their children. Often during the session such phrases as 'of course it depends on the adults really,' 'we've got to set an example,' and 'it all comes back to the parents' showed the depth of their concern and the degree of responsibility being assumed: inevitable of course, with young children, but were they thinking of adolescents as really different from young children?

It was decided to consider delinquency next and this discussion took up the fifth and sixth sessions. The background to this discussion was the group's awareness of the problems existing on the Estate, as referred to earlier, and a sensitiveness about the frequent criticism directed against this and other Estates in the local newspapers.

The case of the mother out at work and the overworked mother was aired but it was felt that, apart from all this, there was a problem because many mothers were under-equipped for the job. Could there be more provision of adolescent and adult education to prepare people for parenthood?

Acts of destructiveness and wanton damage were next discussed, with examples known to members. It was agreed that the causes were probably oblique — protest, calling attention to themselves, proving themselves etc. — but the lack of facilities for doing other and constructive things was clearly also a factor. The group agreed that they tended to worry more

about their teenage children — they were aware that changes in the relationships between themselves and their children were taking place. They still wanted to be overtly protective, but realized that it wouldn't be acceptable now. Young girls in particular were upset by their mothers' worry when they were out at night. They interpreted this as lack of trust (this was indeed how the teenagers in Group A interpreted it) and thought of mothers as 'squares'.

There was also realization of the subtle and complex pressures to which young people were subjected, but there was this to be said (harking back to their own teenage experience) that at least young people are not made to do things as they used to be in school and home. But did they know enough about what adolescents wanted? The group went on to draw up a list of questions they would like to ask on adolescent interests, aspirations, feelings about responsibility and freedom, and why they did not take adults into their confidence.

It was pointed out that the group had not so far brought up the topic of sex and it was agreed to discuss this in the next sessions. One of these was recorded, and when this was played back the group commented on their failure to discuss temperately: 'We're worse than children.' 'Did we really make all that row?' They felt that sex was over-emphasized, especially in school, that the home ought to be responsible for sex education. They did however know of parents who couldn't tackle it. 'I know a wife who says she can't talk about sex to her husband.' It was then agreed that 'talking about it' with teenagers is not easy. Differences in attitudes between the sexes were discussed. It was felt that the girl of today has matured much earlier. 'She knows more at 15 than we did at 25.' Will these trends toward earlier maturing and earlier marriage continue?

The final session included the re-answering of the Statements. After this was done, the group asked if they could look again at their first answers and were surprised at the variety of differences. They went on to discuss the value of the project which they all said had

been useful to them: they again showed gratification that someone 'down London' should really be interested in what *they* thought and that the Estate should be considered sympathetically, not only as an object of attack and criticism.

One special problem of this group was commented on by the group leader. It arose in the first session from the presence of a member of the School Staff in the group and their tendency to regard him as an authority. By agreement he remained relatively silent for some meetings until the group came to accept him on equal terms. Another feature of this group was the way reference to what other groups were doing was unfruitful. It did not seem able to respond to suggestions of other groups outside.

A Midland Village Group (Group H)

This was a small mixed group drawing on two villages set in the heart of the countryside. The participants joined the group at the invitation of the local headmaster and formed a fair cross-section of local peoples. The group consisted for most of the meetings of five adults, (three women and two men) and one teenage girl. The adults had children of their own. They lived in two villages, of about 100 people each, three miles from a market town (10,000) and well off the main lines of communication with two midland cities, 15 miles away.

In the earlier discussions on the Statements, it was clear that the adults in this group had not met in their own experience the phenomena which may lead adults in an urban setting to be highly critical of young people. They were tolerant in their attitude to the young, and accepted 'high spirits' and self-assertion as a necessary ingredient in the process of growing up. Children should be allowed to test themselves, to adventure, and, form their own wills. Will was seen as the individual's most important quality and to form it effectively there had to be 'a battle of wills'. Parents who refused to accept this could either oppress or become too indulgent and both were bad. In

towns they thought many parents were afraid of their own will and of the will of their children.

They were aware of differences in dress, interests and manners between themselves and the young of to-day but did not find these annoying. 'They were entitled to their own ways.' They did however think that perhaps young people to-day were less resourceful — they didn't for example any longer climb out of their bedroom windows to see their girl friends, or go 'scrumpting' — and they did not contribute much to village life, looking to go elsewhere as soon as they could. But they were more realistic in many ways, less bound by sentiment and tradition.

They were pleased there was less shame about sex and at the same time concerned that there wasn't shame against which the young could test the strength of their desires. For this group the family was all important, for good or ill. If anything was wrong, and they were not certain there was, the parents were to blame. They returned to the theme of freedom for young people. 'Chain a dog up all its life and it will go wild when you loose it.' Children need freedom to make choices and guidance in how to make them. They were aware of the problems that arise for parents who do encourage their children to take an independent line and the young person insists on doing something that is not sensible. On the whole the young people they knew — a count revealed that there were ten teenagers in the two villages — were sensible and responsible.

Perhaps provoked by this, the teenage member in the next session broke out with a number of accusations against adults' attitudes to the young, ending with 'but you made the bomb'. They replied with: 'You use the bomb as an excuse for all kinds of wickedness.' After this heated exchange the group simmered down and returned to its early and main preoccupation with the family. The family should provide ideals, but be strong enough to allow them to be put to the test of reality. Adults should not be too preoccupied with their own concerns to enter into the concerns of the young, or at any rate should accept the

differences and not condemn what they did not understand.

In the final session, after completing the statements again, the group attempted an appraisal of what it had been doing. They showed some anxiety about whether they had really been making an honest appraisal of adult-adolescent relationships or whether they had been mainly talking about themselves and sheltering behind reassuring phrases. The teenage member said she thought they had been very fair and honest. In this final discussion, the group clearly felt a need for reassurance and tried to prod the group leader out of his role as Chairman and observer. Failing in this, they tried to reassure themselves by repetition of views advanced in earlier sessions.

Group of Experienced Teachers (Group I)

This group consisted of eight teachers (three men, five women) from the Child Development Course of the London University Institute of Education and one Deputy Head of a Primary school, who only attended two of the meetings. She had been the only participant who had been directly approached to join the group. The others had heard of the project and had, of their own accord, inquired whether they might attend.

All the men were teachers in Secondary Modern or Comprehensive schools, and two of them had additional Primary school experience.

Of the women, four were training college lecturers, all Infant school teachers originally but with varied additional experience. One had worked in West Africa for seven years and had a year's experience in a hospital school. Another was a Speech and Drama specialist. The fifth woman had had experience in an Approved school.

Three of the women and two of the men were married. All of these had children — three of them adolescents the other two younger children. The third man had an adolescent brother.

Responsibility and freedom: The group

looked at the various forms of the normal adolescent's demands for more freedom in the home and the difficulties parents had in dealing with these demands: parental anxiety was felt by the young as 'interference'; advice was often resented; there was resistance to accepting responsibilities in the home. The possible reasons for these reactions were examined, e.g. the adolescents' need to break away from the home, the protracted period of economic dependence for many adolescents in our society, the discrepancies between the degree of freedom and responsibility given in the home and that enjoyed outside.

Relations between the age groups: It was felt that the conflicts associated with growing up manifested themselves most forcibly in the home. This led to a comparison between parents and teachers with regard to these conflicts. Parents tended to be more anxious because of their greater involvement with the children and to feel more guilt over their shortcomings. Teachers had a more limited responsibility for the individual pupil and were also better prepared by training to deal with difficulties; in school the relationship between adult and pupil was more impersonal, the community was wider, and peer relationships could be used to reinforce desired behaviour, and in a good school there was a consistent disciplinary climate. Anxieties in teachers were seen as more likely to arise from conflict of standards between those upheld by the school and those prevailing in homes and the society outside the school. Parents could be apathetic about or at variance with what the school was trying to do. The school, e.g. by insisting on uniforms, might appear to be stressing group conformity at the expense of individual diversity.

It might also be over-emphasizing intellectual and physical achievement, high-lighting examination and games achievements more than other forms of self-expression and development.

Social change: The various effects of the affluent society were examined, in particular the greater freedom of the adolescent for trial and experiment, and the reduced importance of the teenagers' economic contribution to the

home. Changes affecting the schools were also discussed — larger size, reduction of class barriers, growing stress on paper qualifications, and the plight of those who cannot hope to achieve these.

Juvenile Delinquency: Some of the points made in discussing this question were: the rise might be more apparent than real, due to better detection; the difficulty, in urban conditions, of expressing revolt and independence without breaking laws; the greater impersonality in large complex communities; the diversity of standards presented by the adult world. The nature of the relationship between parent and teacher and young people makes it difficult for the first to give advice and guidance.

Group Leader's comments: This was a sophisticated group, both in terms of the content and form of the discussions. As members of a course on Child Development they were accustomed to discussing such topics with each other and in some depth. At times the group leader took part in the discussions and at various points called attention to underlying factors. While welcoming the attempt to go deeper, the group also found it a painful experience. This seemed to arise from the very strong feelings of responsibility in most of the members for the difficulties of adolescence, an identification with them, an assumption that the problems were preventable or soluble, and depression when no such solutions appeared. However, in one of the last sessions, in discussing advice on sex, they arrived at the conclusion that adolescents sought advice from people with whom they had no close connection, and that this was not a failure of parents and teachers, but was unavoidable because of the conflict caused by the 'adolescent situation'.

Their feelings as parents and as teachers differed considerably. As the former they were fully prepared to accept their involvement with the young and the existence of feelings of jealousy, anxiety etc. As teachers they denied any such involvement and any anxieties over control of and relations with their pupils. Young teachers might have these, some 'weak' teachers might, but we

don't. A discussion on sex, which took up two sessions, and was very heated and controversial, with a marked disagreement between the men and the women, seemed to show that these anxieties were very much there under the surface.

Other topics that aroused deep controversial feelings were the H. bomb, and the relationship between parents and teachers. On the latter, two of the married women took the parents' side, insisting on the teachers' consideration of parents wishes. In return the two married men accused the parents of preventing teachers from expressing their own opinions. To this extent the discussions were probably more useful in throwing light on the attitudes of teachers and parents and the rivalry between them than on adult-adolescent relationships.

These comments were presented to the group and discussed in the final session. The group did not agree with the suggestion that as teachers they had underlying anxieties which they were reluctant to admit.

Professional People (Group J)

This group was composed of twelve adults, including the group leader: professional workers, politically radical, Londoners. There were four couples, parents of adolescents, and including a chartered accountant, a journalist, a business man, a psychiatric social worker, a doctor, an architect and a singer: the others, two women, two men, were unmarried.

In the discussions on the statements it became clear that the group was 'leaning over backwards' to take the side of the adolescents and avoid criticism. The group was uncertain why this was. Was it the memory of their own difficulties? Was it that they felt guilt, both because of their personal inadequacy (being so aware of the snags and difficulties) and their collective inadequacy in a world threatened by the bomb? This and the fear of the adolescents' power, numbers, group strength and hostility, their early and potent sexual maturity, had led many adults to abdicate from their authoritative position.

To abdicate is to fail. Parents must be in-

volved with their children. Clashes don't matter so long as adults behave as adults not as adolescents, have their own views and standards and state them. The changed economic circumstances and their effect on young people were discussed in the fourth session: there was also the effect of the general social climate of our time, the uncertainty about whether our civilization has a future, the conflicting standards presented by the adult world. No wonder many adolescents (and adults) feel it is useless to do anything except 'make hay while the sun shines.'

In the next session, religion was discussed and then the H. bomb. This produced — for the first time — a really heated discussion and division between those who felt this issue had a vital effect on the attitudes of the young today and those who felt that most of them, feeling they could do nothing about it, just ignored it. It was suggested by the group leader that perhaps the group was discussing its own anxieties about the bomb rather than the fears of adolescents.

In the sixth session in a discussion on social change the group tried to decide whether the changes were in fundamental or mainly in superficial aspects. It was pointed out that adolescents may mature earlier physically but in other respects many of them had less pressure put on them to grow up. Anthony Storr was quoted to the effect that a perfectly mature person would be a monstrosity: we need our immaturities and neuroses. Members gave examples of their own. This led to a discussion on dishonesty and petty theft and fiddling — all felt to be features of our social behaviour — and maybe the reluctance to condemn and judge complicated matters. But it was agreed the young are more outspoken and honest in the expression of their opinions than was formerly so.

In the next session the group returned to the theme: why were they so reluctant to criticize young people? They talked of the relations between the generations, of how the passing on of wisdom from father to son no longer seemed to work, the children seemed to speak a different language, the parents were reluctant to administer punishment, not

even giving them something to rebel against. 'We are afraid to punish.' 'We're afraid to do **anything**.' 'We're not giving them an established order.' 'We take away the brick wall but we substitute a cotton-wool wall . . . they haven't got anything to hit their heads against.' It was noted however that while generally compassionate and sympathetic they felt great resentment if young people took advantage or disregarded them. There seemed to be an undue fear of being hated, a desire to be approved of by the young. They went on to discuss gang phenomena in different countries (not in Africa, Asia, China?) and whether gangs were a new phenomenon. Was there more in common between age-groups formerly? They certainly seemed to speak the same language. This led to a discussion on what names were used for parents and other adults by children.

In the eighth meeting this theme was continued with reference to the relationships in schools, the need of young people for personal recognition and the conditions which may make them difficult in schools and colleges. This led to a discussion of the more impersonal relations in New Towns and Estates compared with older urban and rural communities: and the effect of this on delinquency rates. Later someone read out James Hemming's list of conditions which adults had to satisfy if their lines of communication with young people were to be kept open and these were approved with a reference back to Carl Rogers' point that above all you *must be yourself*. Whether this was possible was discussed in the context of the group itself and their relations to each other outside the group. Relationships with adolescents outside the family were discussed in the ninth session, conditions for young people in industry and the inadequacies of higher and professional education, which is behind the times and contains a lot of dead wood. 'We are wasting our young potential.'

In the last session the group leader summarized what had been previously discussed and added this comment: 'What we have not been able to do, though once or twice we have come very near to it, is really to express our feelings

about the crux of the matter — the *quality* of the relationships we make with the young . . . We paid lip service to James Hemming's list of «do's and don'ts» but had to back away from Carl Rogers' much heavier demands on us as individuals. Nor could we take up E . . . 's suggestion that what prevented us from the essential «being ourselves» was the necessary defences we had set up against anxiety, both as individuals and as members of this group. When I pointed this out, defences were politely raised all round. I mention it partly because this is what happens in any relationship (or any group). What we can't bear, we have to cover up: when we cover up, we are avoiding the difficulty (and the creative opportunity) and are being less than ourselves. That chance of moving forward in the relationship is lost.'

London Mothers (Group K)

This group consisted of twelve women, married or widows, residing in London, all mothers of teenage children. Many of them had been engaged in professional work before marriage. Some were at present voluntary social workers and a few had part-time jobs. The group included a writer, a singer, a psychiatric social worker, a biologist, a teacher, and two marriage counsellors.

At the second meeting much indignation was expressed about the statements which they had filled in which were described as *clichés*, generalizations, meaningless, frustrating etc. A framework for discussion was proposed and this was taken up at the third session. The central question discussed was, had there been a change from the way they were brought up to the way they were bringing up their own children? It was generally agreed that they paid more attention to individual differences in their children and tried to understand their individual idiosyncracies. It was also felt their children took part more openly in adult discussion and activity. Did they perhaps hear too much about things they were not mature enough to understand? It was replied that by and large they take what they *can* understand and have built-in resistances. But

did they not differ greatly in what they were sensitive to? Can they be too tough as well as too sensitive? Do we in any case know much about what goes on in their fantasies?

There was an exchange of experience on how *they* were brought up — and this brought out very wide differences between 'narrow and puritanical' and 'ultra-modern.' The changes in the evaluation of the age groups was noted, with a greater stress to-day on being young. 'The boundaries of maturity have been stretched both ways.' And this led to what was obviously a problem of special concern to this group — children's ambivalent reactions to mothers who go out to work. 'We don't mind mum going out to work but we *do* like her to be at home when we come back.'

At the end of this discussion, a good deal of tension and aggression emerged with regard to the project and its aims. What was wanted of them? Were they 'being done good to?' Was it a form of therapy? Some thought they should be discussing 'facts', surveys and relevant published material. The leader explained that they could discuss what they liked; and it was decided to continue discussing personal experiences and feelings.

It is not perhaps irrelevant that rebellion against parents was the main theme in the next session, with some attempt to compare this phenomenon in the different generations known to them. There was then a reference back to the problems of working mothers ending with agreement that whichever course mothers chose, whether to stay at home or go out to work, they would tend to feel guilty! Several pressures work in both directions and there is no approved pattern as yet.

The group then went on by agreement to discuss freedom and discipline. When to give responsibility and what responsibilities to give? The danger of lagging behind the young persons needs and capacities was contrasted with the danger of expecting too much. Someone quoted a headmistress's comment. 'We never give responsibility to our senior girls until they've earned it.' There was a long discussion on the risks of allowing too much freedom, especially for girls; and on how to distinguish between realistic safeguards and irrational

anxieties on the parent's part. It was felt that this generation of parents is given to over-analysis and consciousness of pitfalls, and so becomes incapable of firmness and clear decision. Parental fears and worries were further discussed in the next session — especially mothers' fears for their daughters. All agreed to having some degree of constant worry about their teenage children. Some had techniques for dealing with this. Why was there so much conflict over refusing children things? Is parental anxiety based on guilt feelings?

In the next sessions, religion was discussed both in terms of beliefs and ritual and in relation to moral codes. Parents with strong religious beliefs would in most cases bring up their children in the same faith; parents who were not ardent worshippers themselves would often believe in church-going for their children — as a kind of insurance? And examples were also given of children from agnostic homes who took strongly to religion.

The group went on to discuss the problems arising from changes in moral codes, particularly in matters of sex. It was agreed that their attitudes to sons and to daughters were different and somewhat inconsistent. But on the whole they felt *they* had good communication with their children. Modern parents like themselves were certainly more self critical and therefore in a sense unsure; but in a rapidly changing world this was surely a good thing and led to more honesty in relationships with their children. There was an atmosphere of unity and sympathy in this session, the one before the last. It was decided that in the last session each member would write a report on her impressions of the series of meetings and read it out. Some comments from these reports are given below:

One member commented on the fact that not once in the discussions had anyone criticized their own children or complained about them. 'Rather, the mothers here all display an astonishing readiness to assume that anything amiss in their families is due to mismanagement or misunderstanding on their part'. This was all the more astonishing in view of the great variety of upbringings they had themselves reported, ranging from rigid Victorian

discipline to a degree of freedom that would be remarkable even nowadays.

There were many comments to the effect that it had been a very rich and worthwhile experience for the group members, whatever its value in terms of the project. One member added, 'I think it would be valuable if the findings of this group, or of another such, could be correlated with those of a group composed of its *own* children. We might find that where we felt we had managed well was not supported by our own children's estimates, and that some of our mistakes were not so bad after all.'

For another the most important impression that was left was 'the curse of over-analysing and over-worrying', especially with more 'intellectual' mothers; even they were influenced by the exploitation of the teenage cult. 'It is better they should have something tangible to rebel against than a wishy-washy attitude.' Another commented on the value of hearing other parents describe problems similar to one's own. 'I think the discussions have shown that this point should always be borne in mind when considering a problem, because if we can dissolve our own anxieties it is easier to clear up young people's worries.' This member also felt that not enough consideration had been given in the discussions to the effects of our society on young people to-day — ranging from advertising, crude horror and sex films and stories, to overcrowding in some homes and schools, racial intolerance and the shadow of the H bomb.

'The group gave a feeling of comfort and security through the realization that one's own problems were universal', was another summing up. It strengthened the conviction that 'our way of trying to understand by watching the child was the right way'. Another recalled the mood of irritation and frustration at the beginning. This had largely faded as the exchange of personal experience developed: though she still felt that more direction and discipline in the discussions would have been preferable. 'Perhaps the greatest value has been in the expression and sharing of our anxieties. For though I have been hard on our lack of intellectual discipline I do not under-

estimate the human value of group meetings like these. For women like us who are perhaps outside the Guilds and Institutes and Churches, the difficulty seems to be not so much that of communicating with the young but of finding a place and a reason for communion with each other. It is not that we have more anxieties but that we have fewer chances to share them.'

Youth and Community in Sussex (Group L)

The group consisted of nine adults, and nine young people. The former included company directors, housewives, a Congregational minister; the latter ranged in age from 15 to 19, office workers, a shop assistant, apprentice engineers, a telephone operator, a hairdresser, members of the Youth Club.

The Youth Club is itself an integral part of a maintained County Council Further Education Centre run on Community Centre lines in a growing town of some 15,000 persons. Thus youth activities are carried on alongside class and club work for young wives, the elderly and retired peoples' groups, adult drama, music, craft and social groups. Some clubs and classes are open to people of all ages, such as Judo, Chess, Bridge, Film Society, Music and amateur stage groups. The canteen is shared by all and teenagers choose the 'pop' music persistently played there. Nursery rooms are run in the afternoon while young wives attend classes and there is equipment for all age activity around the building. This may have made the task of introducing the subject of adult-adolescent relationship an easier one.

The Centre is run by the County Council through a Management Committee of adults. The Youth Club of the Centre also has its adults Management Committee as well as an elected Youth Club Members' Committee. The latter two committees meet bi-monthly to discuss mutual problems and plans. This joint consultation had been tried for six months before the group discussions began and it had been popular with adults and adolescents.

The group had some experience of adult-

adolescent relationships in shared use of premises that were bursting at the seams, as it were, with much over-crowding, so that extensions to the building are planned. They found the preliminary questionnaire irritating, possibly because they had their own starting point for the discussions. They were all, adults and adolescents, averse from having to complete the same questionnaire at the end, and they had to be reminded and persuaded to do this.

All want to continue with this discussion group and to arrange for others to be started as; to all members, the method is a revelation and full of possibilities.

The statements roused some mistrust but when it was made clear they could choose what they wanted to discuss, the tension lessened. The first three discussions were recorded and files were kept to which all members had access. The discussion started with Statement 19 and several of the adolescents commented on the freedom they enjoyed at home and school: but there were some who felt freedom given at home could be due to indifference. 'They don't give you guidance about life.' 'You don't feel they care what you do or where you are.' The adults joined in, blaming parents who did not take enough interest in their children and give them guidance.

There were comments on social changes, particularly affecting family life. One of the adults had said that young people to-day seemed to seek pleasure only, and this was taken up at the second meeting. They discussed drinking at teenage parties — some frank confessions from the young people — and the destructive behaviour of some teenage gangs: it was attributed to 'a twisted outlook', 'a deep boredom which they don't realize', 'a deep frustration' by the young people.

Youth clubs were discussed and the way to run them. 'You need an adult adviser who can say No if he thinks a thing is wrong, though he will not interfere too much.' 'You have to have in a youth club those you can trust' and it was not thought a club could absorb more than a few 'difficult' ones — there had been problems with hooligans at the club formerly.

The discussion turned to relations with adults. 'I would rather talk to a stranger than to my parents about my private affairs.' 'My own children don't come to me with their worries but other people's children do.' 'With a parent it is so difficult but with another adult it is easier.' 'Parents have dirty eyes for their own children.' 'It is the first impression that counts. If an adult does not seem interested, then a teenager is wary.' 'Some parents hate their children.' 'There is a father of a girl we know who would hurt his daughter's feelings in front of her friends. That is the wrong way to go about it. He must only show her up in private.' 'It is lack of trust that we can't stand.' They went on to talk about domestic problems — coming in late, and dress and being tidy; and then went on to conditions at work — the ruthless pace in some industries and the ditching of people who can't keep up.

In the next session a local newspaper report about teenagers' sex behaviour was discussed. The young people thought that they got little help at school. 'We learn about plants and then jump to what to do with the baby when you get it.' Did they learn from their parents? There was clearly considerable variation both in the attitudes of the parents and in the relations of the teenagers with *their* parents.

In the fifth meeting the group began with the topic of dual standards — arising from statements 3 and 14. 'Parents can't let us grow up.' It was the same at work. 'We overhear them say «The youngster is not doing so badly», when we know we do a man's work.' This was said of the foremen, not the management. 'We don't see the management at all', or only once a year 'and all he does is to tick us off.' It was agreed that apprenticeship schemes needed overhaul and that time and motion operations had made things difficult. The girls on the whole reported satisfactory relations with their seniors at work and home.

This was one of the points in this group's discussions where an adult's desire for reassurance that all is really well prevented a fuller discussion of underlying problems. The discussion was generalized to a criticism of mass production, materialism etc. In the sixth

meeting, the discussion returned to conditions at work, especially for apprentices, comparison of large and small firms, the influence of Trades' Unions, the gap between management and workers, the office and the works floor, class distinctions.

In the next session they got on to what young people talked to each other about. 'A few of us discussed religion and mixed marriage — they wanted a man who went to their denomination.' 'They are never serious at work.' 'Nobody takes politics seriously' — but the group went on to discuss Common Market and the Aldermaston marchers, and the bomb. And the next session was devoted to a discussion on religion, with a frank exchange of views between the older and younger members. Some of the latter criticized the cold atmosphere of many churches. 'It is too ordinary'. 'I think a service should have something special.' 'I think that a moral code matters more than a religion.' 'R. I. at school puts you off.' 'I used to try to get out of going to assembly at school.' This led to a discussion of the relation between religion and moral standards.

The last session began with a reference to the need for a counselling service for youth. Was this a good idea? 'As a parent I would not like to feel that my child went to ask a counsellor. I would want him to feel he could ask me.' 'Teenagers do prefer to work it out.' The adults felt that as parents or club leaders they could give any help required, and gave examples. This led, somehow, to talk about 'the stars' and fortune telling and superstitions generally: and then back to confiding in people. 'You can't tell what to do when a person is in trouble. You can suggest and sympathize but they have to want to listen.' The adults thought it was a relief to be able to unburden oneself; the young people were more sceptical: some people made a habit of it. The session ended with discussion of the different things different people worry about. Clearly these last topics had a bearing on the group's feelings about the project and what they might have got out of it.

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Mixed Metropolitan Group (Group M)

This also was a mixed generation group. There were five parents of children in their late teens or early twenties, professional, progressive; and six young adults, most of them engaged in higher education and professional training, including two teachers-in-training. The group leader was known to most of the members. Why had they come? To regain touch with the parent generation, to see what the younger people had to say, to make a contribution, to see what they would make of it. All this, and more, was realized.

In the early discussions on the statements it appeared that some of the Statements were answered in a way that differentiated the two sections of the group: these were Statement 8 where the parent generation accepted the imputation of envy and the younger generation rejected it; Statement 11 where the parents felt relations had improved and the younger members were doubtful or felt it was irrelevant to them; and Statement 18, where the parents were ready to accept the implied criticism. Statements 1, 5, 7, 13, 15, 19, 20 were found to be unifying statements for this group, either pro or con; Statements 2, 10, 12, 16, 17 seemed to be non-engaging statements, i.e. they were felt to be of limited or peripheral significance or outside the experience of the group; whereas Statements 3, 4, 6, 9, 14 were described as diversifying statements, i.e. they deal with experiences of difference between people born in different times and raised such questions as, 'Is being young the same from generation to generation or are there differences in the basic experience?' 'Have there been changes in our society in the attitudes to the phenomenon of youth itself?' 'What is it about youth and adolescence that makes it awkward and disturbing to parents? Can one discriminate between parent feelings about young people and any-other-adult feelings?'

The attitudes of the group to the project in these early discussions was positive and committed. They felt the idea of getting an interchange of experience between the genera-

tions, as in this group, was worth while. There was however general irritation with the Statements, both as a device for initiating discussion and because of their form. However, the discussion on the Statements in the first three sessions was lively and voluble. The fourth discussion — the first of Phase 3 and intended to be more free — was more anxious, stilted and tentative. It was as though the members were searching for something to say or too conscious of treading on other people's toes to say what they wanted. The main subject being considered in this tentative way was the problem of communication itself, which was of course 'there' in this group, as in group L. It came up with regard to sex and the ambiguity of the adolescent's sexual status in our society: it also arose over being honest with children *generally*, over emotional education and the problem of 'being on different wavelengths', and over the ability to respond e.g. to the child who is both scared and curious. At the end of the discussion some doubts were felt about where the group was going and whether the sharp reaction of some members against outside direction (from the project planners) was not itself a reflection of the general difficulty about communication which was under discussion.

The fifth session began with further questioning of the purpose and value of the project. Was the project being used as an Aunt Sally? The discussion then focussed on parental authority and adolescent rebellion. Some comments: 'It's almost incestuous to discuss the more intimate side of sex.' 'To have parents who are too understanding is a great disadvantage.' 'Parents are there to be criticized . . . something to measure by . . . a screen to battle against in growing up.' 'Those who never revolt never mature.' There was sustained objection to the 'rebellion is essential' view from one member, who had not experienced acute conflict at home but clearly had a mind of her own. 'It's a very complex business — growing up.' 'We are continually torn between being separate and being social.' 'But rebellion must be related to behaviour' i.e. to discuss rebellion in general may be an academic exercise; we need to consider what

young people rebel about, what happens when they do.

The sixth meeting began with a reference to adult-adolescent relations in the employment situation. Some of the points made were:

Are relationships at work and in school really better, or is it just lip-service, something we all want to believe?

'There *is* a problem but it is not the one stated.' A society needs its whipping boys as well as its slogans. The rebellious youth group serves this purpose for us. The 'difficult' attitudes of youth are a projection of the difficulties of the adults.

Parents often fear the 'contamination' of their children by 'unsuitable' or 'different' companions.

The pros and cons of social mobility and stability.

The role of the leader of group activities.

The need for a feeling of 'belonging' and of being recognized and valued *as a person*. The group leader commented on this last topic in the context of the group e.g. what the younger generation in the group felt had not clearly emerged, some individuals had not felt able to say much and tended not to challenge the views of the more forceful representatives of the parent generation.

The result of this was a more personal discussion in the next session. Personal statements were made and examples given of problems and delinquencies. The group was markedly more sensitive to its individual members and everyone contributed something. Afterwards one member contributed a piece of writing which was recorded and played back at the beginning of the eight-meeting. It was to the effect that *both* the younger and the older people feel they have something to hide vis-à-vis each other, namely, their incompleteness. This might, the group leader feels, have started something; but she followed it with a summary of the last meeting (as was usual) and the resulting discussion was rather desultory. The main topic was child/parent identification and the way parents tend to project so much of themselves on to their children. The group leader asked the members to comment on this session — wanting to bring the sense of

frustration and depression into the open. The general feeling was that they had gone as far as they could *on this level* i.e. to get further they would have to consider relations in the group itself at a deeper level.

The last meeting, with all members present, saw a good discussion, ranging over the ways previous meetings had been satisfactory or not, the value of the project, the role of the teacher in changing attitudes, the concern of adults about giving away what one really is. Feelings within the group were expressed with greater freedom than formerly. The request that they respond to the statements a second time aroused strong feelings in some members. In fact only three agreed to do it: the rest refused. It was 'futile', 'childish', 'insulting', 'trying to catch us out' i.e. in a change of opinion. There had been, throughout, criticism of the form and purpose of the project and the supposed attitudes and intention of those running it. One member commented: 'I think the organizers might have made more clear their object, let us in on it, given us more sense of responsibility' and went on to make a parallel between the group's situation vis-à-vis the organizers and the teenagers' situation vis-à-vis authority. The majority of group members then contributed their own written statements about the project as a whole.

Everyone felt that the meetings had been of personal value to them and had led to better understanding of and sympathy with the other members. 'Normally one couldn't have discussed one's personal experiences unless one had known someone for some considerable time. This group broke down these barriers.' Some felt the benefit stopped there and that this in itself could be of no value to the organizers. Others did see a possible value. 'Its usefulness may be that, in a small way, face to face discussion can help to form public opinion and counteract the imposition on the majority of false generalizations put out by a prejudiced minority.'

Someone also observed that the feeling of irritation with the organizers had been a stimulus for the group: 'something to kick against.' It may well be that what stimulated some was a depressant for others, reducing their feeling

of value in taking part.

On the ground covered in discussion one member commented: 'This particular group concentrated mainly on personal relationships, particularly within the family, and did not seem interested in the wider issues of social relationships and the changes which have brought about anxiety and dissatisfaction not only between the generations but in society as a whole.'

In discussion of the group leader's final report the following points were added. (1) It was not that the group was indifferent to wider social implications but felt that these depended on individual relationships. (2) On the value of the group: we have all been talking about different worlds. Exchange forced us to think more profoundly about our own worlds. It becomes manifest that we share a common problem. (3) The irritation about the statements may be due to attitudes engendered by 'homework'. (4) While the chief gains were subjective ones, many of the group recognized the need for objective and comparative studies of behaviour (like Eisenstadt's, *From Generation to Generation*.)

Those in Authority (Group N)

This group consisted of ten adults, all holding positions with a high level of responsibility in local government, administration of the law, education, the Church, and business, and concerned both directly and indirectly with the lives of young people in a Midland city. The members attended very regularly and after they had accustomed themselves to being in an unstructured group — a novel experience for them — they discussed adult/adolescent relations quite freely.

The lists of comments on adolescents and their relations with adults were distributed at the first meeting, and all present wrote down their observations on these. At the second meeting there was comment on the prevalence of 'problems of youth' in most parts of the world to-day (except Spain?). It was stated there was less juvenile delinquency among Jews, Catholics (except in Northern Ireland) and Quakers. Possible causes of

delinquency were cited — a general deterioration of discipline (but the pressure of overbearing parents was also mentioned), children being educated beyond their parents, the greater mobility to-day, the effects of popular newspapers and magazines, changes in social attitudes about destructiveness.

In the next session the effects of the Welfare State and the wider provision of grants for students were considered as leading to less emphasis on responsibilities and more on rights. It was noted that some young people had perhaps too much leisure (those who leave at 15), while those who stay on for full time education had too little. Also the 'natural' leaders tended to be taken away from their homes and neighbourhoods and the social class into which they were born. Most parents wanted their children to 'get on' in this way: the rise in the numbers staying at school after 15 had been very marked in recent years. The effect of broken homes on delinquency was mentioned. Members were puzzled to explain the many examples of damage to public property — breaking into schools, ransacking railway carriages, vandalism in the parks.

The fourth session opened with a reference to the bomb and the feeling of young people that they had been let down. A recent article had referred to the loneliness of many young people in urban conditions — but was this not also felt by older people and perhaps especially the very old? It was suggested by one member that we make too much of the problem of adolescence to-day. It is not a new problem nor a special problem. It arose from the reluctance of adults to relinquish control over young people. There followed some discussion of the conditions on new housing estates, and the effect of mothers going out to work (but delinquency is not higher in areas where many mothers do than where fewer mothers do). 'There's no pattern, no rhyme or reason in it'.

Back to the question of lessened responsibility. 'A young man can even go to the University and marry on his grant'. 'We are taking too much responsibility away from the parents'. 'Children are being pushed on before they are ready.' The concept of maturity was examined — physical not matched by social,

the absence of a recognized ceremony of entry into maturity. Was staying on longer at school an avoidance of responsibility? The group leader asked what they felt about young people they knew personally re responsibility. It was generally thought they were all right though not perhaps as ready to undertake 'dirty work' as formerly.

The fifth session began with discussion on the rise in illegitimate births and the changing standards and attitudes in sex relations. The group leader asked why the group had been so preoccupied with the misdemeanours of youth? 'We think «our» children are all right. It is other people's who are not'. There were comments on the positive side — that the majority are not delinquent, that there is more friendship between parents and children to-day. 'We are closer to them today.' 'We are fundamentally jealous of them.' 'Unconsciously jealous — and they of us.' The common use of Christian names for older people was discussed.

'Have we a need to be loved more because we are so insecure?'

The next session was a joint one with the girls of Group A. The discussion ranged over the points the girls had made in their own group about what they most needed from adults, how they felt about leaving school, preparation for work, and their relations with older siblings, and parents. The girls expressed their views very frankly and were critical of the pre-vocational and leisure time provision. The adults responsible for this provision adopted defensive positions. 'You do not realize all the difficulties.'

The seventh meeting was also a joint session — with Group F, young adults in training as teachers. The discussion ranged over responsibility and freedom and the double demand for both freedom and guidance from adolescents. 'When given freedom they say we give no guidance.' The discussion then moved from the general to the particular, pre-marital sex relations, the changes and conflicts in attitudes to this, possible class differences, comparisons between present and past, effects on marriage.

The last session began with a comment that

the students of to-day seem further to the right than preceding generations of students.

Competition for University places, work pressures, uncertainty about the future were mentioned as possible causes. There were comments on the conservative nature of Universities and the emphasis on tradition in them and in the schools feeding them with students. Comparisons were made with other countries. Is our aim too narrow — to produce able specialists as quickly as possible? Is the gulf wider now between the highly educated and the rest?

Attitudes to education in England, Wales and Scotland were compared.

In the last session the group got away from their preoccupation with youthful delinquency, in its various forms, which had occupied so much attention in earlier sessions. Was there a growing realization (as voiced now and then by the more 'radical' members of the group) that a society gets the adolescents it deserves, that their attitudes and values are a product of the education, in its broadest sense, which that society provides for them?

General Points and Conclusions

Professor J. W. Tibble

THIS pilot project was designed mainly to explore the feelings and attitudes of the young people taking part in it toward adults and the adult world, and of the adults toward adolescents; it was hoped it might throw some light on the areas where communication and understanding between the generations is likely to be most difficult and on the means which might be used to make communication more effective.

The group leaders who planned the project and led the groups are fully aware of the limitations and deficiencies of the project and wish to stress the tentative nature of any generalizations which are drawn from it. But they did all feel that the project had been worth the time and effort which they and the group members had devoted to it, and they agreed that the points which follow were sufficiently backed by evidence provided in the group discussions. (The summaries given above of necessity omit much of the colour and detail which is there in the verbatim records and tape recordings).

To begin with the young people, the article on Adolescence by D. W. Winnicott in the October number of *The New Era* provides a most relevant introduction and complementary reading to this report. Dr. Winnicott says, for example: 'Young people can be seen searching for a form of identification which does not let them down in their struggle, *the struggle to*

feel real, the struggle to establish a personal identity, not to fit in to an adult-assigned role but to go through whatever has to be gone through. They do not know what they are going to become. They do not know where they are, and they are waiting.' He summarizes the needs that adolescents manifest: 'The need to avoid the false solution; the need to feel real or to tolerate not feeling at all; the need to defy in a setting in which dependence is met and can be relied on to be met; the need to repeatedly prod society so that society's antagonism is manifest, and can be met with antagonism.'

All the adolescent groups produced evidence of this need to be regarded as persons, as individuals, as different from each other, to be taken seriously, have reasons given; and what they most disliked was being ignored, all classed together, being anonymous. Unpleasant attention was preferred to none at all. These feelings arose, not only in their relationships with particular adults in the school and work situation, but also because of the ways they were classified within institutions.

We cannot expect any system of organization to reflect precisely the needs of each individual child within it; but we surely could avoid making whole age-groups of children find themselves relatively disregarded by the system, left in cold storage so to speak, still treated in exactly the same way as they were

a year, or two years, before. This tends to happen most in the middle of systems; in the middle forms of both Secondary Modern and Grammar Schools, though the age group in each case is a different one: these children tend to find themselves being given no more responsibility than they were on entry to the school; they are expected to be more responsible without being given more responsibility; for this is reserved for older groups in the school.

The problem of these older groups right up to the young adult groups who were in full-time education took a different form. As seniors they were given enough recognition and responsibility *within* the school or college; indeed the pressures on them arising from this might well be excessive; but growing up for them means looking forward to the *next* stage of life in the community outside the school.

There was evidence from all the young people's groups, whether in Secondary Modern, Sixth Forms of Grammar Schools, further education or at college, that they felt the need for more guidance and preparation for what lay ahead. It was made equally clear that the sort of guidance and help they want from adults should not have strings attached to it. On the vocational side they wanted a picture of the possibilities, especially the less obvious ones; for their leisure they wanted facilities adapted to their own needs in places of their own. This need for recognition as people in their own right came up in all the discussions. An incident in one of the groups of younger adolescents illustrates it: The group leader had noticed that a bright new coffee bar had been opened on the Estate and thought: 'Well, that may satisfy one of their needs.' But he found the group in indignant session on his arrival. The coffee bar was for the restricted use of age groups older than theirs, for reasons that were sound enough in adult eyes. But in effect, this group was being told again, as over enrolment at vocational classes or youth centres: 'You are not old enough yet for any of these things. You must stay in cold storage for a year or two more.'

It is not being suggested here that these felt needs of the adolescent in our society can

easily be met. Dr. Winnicott refers to the mixture of defiance and dependence which is often so puzzling for the adults. As was pointed out in comments on Statement 14, they are in transit, no longer children, not yet adult, demanding freedoms accorded to older people, wanting to be treated as equals but at the same time revealing a childish, even infantile dependence. This ambiguity is in some degree a characteristic of children and young people at all stages of their growth (and indeed it might be said of adults too, in so far as they go on changing and developing); but it is aggravated during adolescence in our society because that society in some respects promotes earlier maturity in young people and in other respects keeps many of them dependent to a later age. The stresses and strains to which this gives rise, the difficulties felt in facing the contradiction implicit in the social pattern with regard to the adolescent's sexual status or economic status in our society, were evident in the discussions of many of the adult groups.

It was apparent that the term 'responsibility' as discussed by the adolescent and adult groups had a different meaning. For the former it meant essentially responsibility for themselves and for running their own lives and being trusted by the adults to do this. For the adults it meant rather their responsibility for children and young people. They found it somewhat difficult to distinguish between younger and older here, in terms of their responsibility. They fully accepted that adolescents should have more freedom as they grew older and were in general sensible, responsible and as mature as one could expect. But they did not feel in themselves any less responsibility for adolescents than for children. In a way they felt *more* responsible because the sort of anxieties they had were more intractable and complex, and they were much less certain about the best way of dealing with the problems.

The degree and extent of this anxiety, the feeling of being challenged, in some sense threatened, by adolescence was apparently greater in the urban and more sophisticated groups, but even here direct discussion was not easy. One group became aware that they

had not found it easy to criticize adolescents, were almost falling over backward not to do so; they were identifying strongly with the adolescents and they went on to discuss why this might be. Other groups were quite sure their own children and all the young people they knew were all right; but they found themselves intently discussing the misdeeds of 'the others', the delinquents. It was also noted that some of the parents in the groups, when discussing problems in their own families, were very ready to be self-critical and blame themselves for everything that went wrong. A certain omnipotence is implied here in the assumption that if parents were responsible and wise enough there would be no problems. And even the rural group, which worried least, kept saying, 'It all comes back to the parents.'

The doubts expressed, directly and indirectly, by the parents were concerned with their role in relation to children who were now young people — apparently an uncertainty had come into the picture because of changes in our society in the evaluation of the age-groups, with greater emphasis on the importance of youth. This, a good many of the adults felt, had brought them closer to young people; they too tried to stay young as long as possible; as the comments on Statement 1. showed, they no longer expected 'respect' to be accorded them because of their age and status. At the same time there was uneasiness about whether this greater equality and sympathy might not make things more difficult for the adolescent by removing or reducing the element of opposition in the parental role — the need for something to kick against, measure oneself against, rebel against.

This was clearly felt as a dilemma in some of the adult groups. Could adults who felt great sympathy with adolescents in their rebellion, for whom the 'difficult' attitudes of youth were in some sense a projection of the difficulties they themselves felt as adults, adequately play this other role? Could one pretend an authority and assurance in spite of a basic diffidence or uncertainty? Or if one did feel, as they agreed they all felt at times, irritation and disapproval, could one express this without feeling uneasy about displaying an ar-

bitrary exercise of adult authority? In one group the discussion on this shifted from the context of the family to that of employer-employee, as if it were easier to work out there. And in another group, the problems fully admitted in the parent-child relationship were not felt to be equally there in the teacher-pupil relationship. It would seem that work and school situations are more structured on traditional lines, whereas the family is more vulnerable to social change; it was suggested there may be class differences as well as individual variations in the degree to which families respond to these general changes.

Turning now to the relevance of all this to the question of communication between adults and young people, it would seem that there is a basic problem in that their preoccupations and concerns tend to be different, even contradictory. There are contradictions between what young people want from adults and what adults want from young people. The parents' feeling of responsibility and concern, and even an enquiry arising from interest without any desire to interfere, can be felt by the adolescent as interference, nagging, lack of trust. At another time, a failure to show interest, perhaps due to a preoccupation with adult business, may be equally resented. On the other hand, parents often find it difficult to recognize emotional maturity, and may expect their children to stay young in this respect while expecting them to be very grown up in some other respects. It is as if each side wanted the other to be very much there and responsive when *their* own needs require it: and not there at all when not required. It was notable in the mixed groups and joint meetings that the adult tendency to pick up from the other side something which fitted in with their own ideas, and ignore what didn't, acted as a stopper to free exchange.

There is a further problem of this kind in the reluctance of adults who feel responsibility for the young to realize that maybe *because* of their role as parents or teachers, or because of the degree of their involvement with the young, they cannot help them in some respect: and that some other adults, just because they are not so closely in-

volved, can do this better. Perhaps if parents and teachers would recognize that their role itself limits their usefulness to their own children or pupils, and that this is no reflection on the capacity of the individual adult concerned, counselling services could be more fully developed in our society. They need not be seen as conflicting with the kinds of help parents and teachers in their respective spheres *can* give. Of course there may also be conflict between home and school over this, as came out in some of the discussions; and much remains to be done in decreasing competition for children among those concerned with them, and increasing co-operation on a basis of the different roles of those concerned.

In connection with communication, one further comment was on the relative lack of training in two-way communication given in schools. The normal traffic in many classrooms is mainly one-way, from teacher to pupil, with the pupil's response limited to answering questions asked by the teacher. There are exceptions to this of course; but the traditional practices associated with class teaching, the 'simultaneous' method as it was originally called, are still very much with us.

It remains to add some comments on the procedures used in this Project. We stress again its modest scale and exploratory nature. Its main purpose was to provide a permissive group setting in which attitudes and feelings could be explored at a level somewhat deeper than that of an opinion poll. The sheet of statements was designed as an introduction to this by presenting members with the kind of comments they might hear in every day life, generalized statements embodying attitudes and feelings. It would seem that the statements were effective as a 'starter' for discussion at the level desired. Some of the groups showed this by plunging fairly quickly into lively debate on some of the topics presented; others by protesting at the insult to their intelligence, demanding facts, surveys and literature, but nevertheless continuing to talk about their feelings and attitudes. Someone in one of these protesting adult groups later shewed insight in suggesting that maybe the groups, in their mixed feelings about the planners of the pro-

ject, were experiencing what adolescents feel about the adult world. Incidentally the reactions to the statements gave each group leader some idea as to the starting point for his group, and the topics which might be more fully explored later on.

The next comment is that, with however mixed feelings some of the groups continued to regard the project and its value, (in terms of what *they* thought its purpose ought to be, what they thought the planners were up to) they did in fact in most cases express appreciation of what they had gained in terms of personal exchange and the pooling of experience. This might seem a side-effect in terms of the purpose of the project as they understood it: but in fact it was central to the purpose, in that they could only give the kind of information wanted by sharing their feelings with others, giving illustrations of their own problems, listening to the expression of other people's anxieties and so on. It would indeed seem that there are not enough opportunities for this kind of exchange in every-day life — for the sharing of experience in a setting which is designed to be a mutual learning situation for the members. It is a different kind of learning situation from that provided in schools and colleges, where there is a teacher and something specific to be taught and learned, a content of facts, ideas or skills.

In the groups made up entirely of adults or adolescents, the other section was *outside* the group, was talked about, not present. The mixed groups and joint meetings of groups had the problem of communication between the age-groups there in its midst, a present and direct problem. They were meeting on neutral ground, as equals, in terms of the constitution of the group. It was clear that this was a new experience for most of them, to meet each other in this setting. It was not altogether an easy experience but it was welcomed and felt to be valuable, both by adults who have to legislate for and make decisions affecting young people, and by the adolescents who are at the receiving end, who were enabled to give the user's point of view, and hear adults giving reasons and explanations, defending themselves maybe.

It was noted how few opportunities there are for this sort of exchange, in work and school and home situations, and that it might have many uses, apart from the satisfaction of the exchange itself. It should be emphasized however that a valid exchange cannot be achieved merely by bringing adults and adolescents together in groups; the role of the group leader or counsellor is vital in preserving the constitution of the group as set up, and in seeing that its special purposes are fulfilled. Preserving a permissive atmosphere for *all* the members, one in which they feel free to express what they feel, is a task requiring skill and training.

The group leader also acted as the group memory, calling attention to earlier remarks, making cross-references, linking this with that, helping the group to revisit a sensitive spot and not obscure it with generalization or go off at a tangent. In this task, and in helping the group generally to listen to other people (and oneself) the tape recorder, which most of the groups used for some of the discussions, was a help. It is an effective way of convincing the group that something was in fact said or did happen, when for very good reason the memory is fallible!

The group leaders also commented at the end on the general limitations on what can be done with groups of this kind, and the particular variations, in this respect, among the groups, because of the different backgrounds of the members and also no doubt the different personalities and experience of the leaders. Several group leaders felt that their groups had gone as far as they could go in the exploration of feelings and attitudes, as far as was feasible and profitable within the frame of reference of the Project. To go further or deeper would require different procedures and a different role for the group leader.

Certainly in the permissive atmosphere of the groups, members were able to express some of their negative feelings very freely, to describe anxieties and fears and conflicting emotions; and most of them found it a relief and a comfort to have sympathetic listeners and to listen sympathetically to others; but it was not the purpose of this project to pro-

mote the working-through of these feelings in the context of the group itself, in the relations between members and with the group leader. That is to say they did not set out to be either training groups or therapeutic groups. There were however, within these limits, variations in the levels at which the groups worked and in the insight achieved; the group leaders hope to explore this more fully in further discussion.

A reading of the evidence suggests that many of the groups felt that there *are* special problems associated with adolescence in our society to-day. The rural group came nearest to the contrary view that the problems to-day are not so very different from what they were formerly—at any rate for the adolescents they themselves knew. In the mining community of Group E there were also indications that older traditions affecting the relationship between the generations still persisted. But the feeling that changes at work in our society were affecting relationships was wide-spread, and at its strongest in the adults of the more sophisticated urban groups. It was commented, half in jest, in one of these: 'The only problem of adolescence is the adults', linking with another comment 'There *is* a problem, but it is not the one stated.'

It may be said indeed that a society which commits itself to promoting change, which builds the acceptance of change and development into the foundations of its view of the universe, is in effect extending the essential attributes of youth into the whole adult stage. The emphasis on staying young, keeping up to date, acquiring the latest gadgets, continuing to learn and to leave known things behind, is an expression of this change. But it also means that some of the uncertainty of youth, the doubts about what is real, the search to establish what one is, the challenging of authority, persist in the adult world.

To the extent that this is so, and of course it varies greatly in different social contexts and from one individual to another, the adult's feeling about young people are bound to be complex and ambivalent. He feels a kinship and sympathy with them, a compulsion to understand them (because this is also understanding himself), envy because they have

without effort the youth he must work hard to retain, irritation to see the problems and difficulties he is aware of in himself reflected back in cruder form in them, and guilt in that the adults who are responsible for them have not 'solved' the problems even for themselves. In this sense indeed it may be said that the problems are insoluble, for they are built into the structure of the society we live in. What the adult can hope to achieve, however, is the capacity to live with, understand and accept the problems — or rather, while doing his best to solve particular problems, accept the necessary continuance of the problematical as lifelong.

It is in this context that the improvement of communication between and within the age-groups assumes a special importance. By learn-

ing to listen to each other, and ourselves, by trying as honestly as we can to find out what it is we feel and to express it, by contributing something of our experience, by establishing two-way communication, we can best help young people to grow up and ourselves to stay young and open to further learning. The skills involved in this are not as simple as they may seem and they have to be learned like other human skills. There was evidence that, whatever the defects and limitations of this particular project, the groups did make it possible for learning of this kind to go on, and we feel that it is a device which could be more widely used with profit at all stages of adolescent and adult education.

COUNSELLOR:

Professor J. W. Tibble

Professor of Education, University of Leicester

GROUP LEADERS:

Professor A. J. Allaway
Miss I. Caspari

Professor of Adult Education, University of Leicester
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London. W. 1.

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College, Ponteland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

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Headmistress, New Parks Secondary Modern School,
Leicester

Miss E. M. Fisher
Mrs R. Hacker

Warden, Park Centre, Burgess Hill, Sussex
Author of: *Telling the Teenagers* and *The Opposite Sex*;
member of L. C. C. North Eastern District Children's
Committee; Marriage Guidance Counsellor

Dr James Hemming
Mr G. C. Johnson
Mr G. W. Jordan

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Warden, Wicken House, Wicken Bonhunt, Essex
Principal, Locksley Institute of Further Education,
South Elmsall, Yorkshire

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Books for the Young Christmas 1962

Although the prices of books for young people have risen in the last year, the quality of the best of them ensures that the reader has value for money. It is always possible to buy a splendid children's book for less than the cheapest adult book with hard covers. From the books on this list the teacher-librarian can distinguish between the run-of-the-mill product and the book of quality, whose author is concerned that reading should be a full experience. As the field of writing for children widens, publishers find a growing demand from discriminating parents and from those who have school money to spend on books which show artistic merit in text and illustrations, to match the skill of the authors.

The youngest readers have the most powerful allies in artist-authors, whose picture books are of outstanding quality, so that in the early stages reading is a sensuous experience, linked with seeing and hearing. The jewel colours, brilliant design, clear printing and memorable choice of words which distinguish BRIAN WILDSMITH'S ABC (O.U.P. 12s6d) make it a book the owner will keep for delight long after it has served its utilitarian purpose. Adults will gloat over this rediscovery of the alphabet and wish they could begin all over again.

Similar enthusiasm is provoked by Heidrun Petrides HANS AND PETER, (O.U.P. 15s) which was printed in Switzerland. The author, who was fifteen when she wrote it, has an eye for the telling detail in both picture and text. She knows that for the first reading stage the balance must be heavily in favour of pictures. These magnificent illustrations have the stark emphasis on significant detail which the child expects and recognizes. Hans and his friend Peter long to escape from the attic and basement where they live and build a house of their own. They find and transform a hut in the woods. The contribution of adults to this enterprise is handled with tact and finesse worthy of an experienced writer. The book production is outstanding; another for the young to treasure.

It is perhaps unfair to contrast with HANS AND PETER the latest in the *Reading with Mother* series: THE FAIRGROUND FAMILY, by Lilian Daykin, (Harrap 5s) but the juxtaposition shows the range in book production for children. Also, teachers have often to decide whether they will buy one book at fifteen shillings or three at five, and if they have to choose the latter they may find books of quality. This little book tells of the exploits of five-year-old Tim and his baby donkey. As the stories are pleasantly conventional, parents will be glad of them at bedtime, but a child learning to read with enthusiasm will seek out something more compelling. Primary school children who are using their developing skill to 'find out for themselves' about birds and animals may be helped to identify them by the colourfulness of ANIMALS AND THEIR YOUNG and BIRDS AND THEIR NESTS (Longacre Press, no author given, 10s6d each) The relative sizes of the creatures is often misleading. The text is turgid.

The new Jonathan Cape edition of GRIMMS' FAIRY TALES is remarkable for the quality of its 231 illustrations by Janusz Grabiński. *Hansel and Gretel* and the *Goose Girl at the Well* show the artist's talents to advantage, although it may be argued that in place of nineteenth century horrors we have

twentieth century sentiment. No information is given about the text which is curious in some places, but the care taken with this edition indicates both the abiding interest in the fairy tale and the demand for those of the brothers Grimm. Other folk tales and legends from all over the world proliferate. The latest batch includes FOLK TALES FROM CHILE (Harrap 10/6) - in which Brenda Hughes relates with directness and brevity the nature allegories and fables which are the legends of the peasant Indians. As the folk tale embodies a total culture pattern a simple retelling is a difficult task. English readers will be more at home with 'The Old Man and the Beanstalk,' but 'The daughters of the Kalku' is probably more representative (For readers 6 - 10).

Teachers have proclaimed for some time the lack of anthologies which reflect the growing understanding of children's approach to poetry. Victorian treasuries of verse and examination selections are largely responsible for teaching dullness and joyless response. Contemporary poetry makes an irresistible impact at any age, but especially at adolescence. To meet a long-felt need comes Charles Causley's DAWN AND DUSK an important selection of 91 poems from the work of 50 modern poets, mostly contemporary. (Brockhampton Press 16s) It is an impressive anthology in production and design, as well as in the skilful patterning of the poems, so that the reader can read right through or choose at random. It is obviously a poet's collection, if only because the editor has selected many poems which show us, besides what the poet has made, something of the permanent nature of poetry (e.g. Robert Graves' *Henry and Mary*.) Although some verses will wear better than others, the collection fulfils Causley's intention to show that 'all poems hint at many other worlds, thoughts, feelings, imaginings'. This is one of the best collections available for the young as it speaks directly to their condition in their language.

Geoffrey Grigson agrees with Causley that 'courage is a quality that distinguished a poet...' In POETS IN THEIR PRIDE (Phoenix 12s6d) he presents ten of his favourites in such a way that his readers can see them as distinctly and representatively human. Blake's originality and fire, Dryden's involvement in public life, Vaughan's moods, Smart's divine madness are presented with warmth and without sentimentality and the poems are carefully chosen. All the best-known ones are there, as they should be.

TAXIS AND TOADTOOLS by Rachel Field (*The World's Work*, 10s6d) was first published in the U.S.A. in 1926. This collection of verse specially written for children by the author of ALL THIS AND HEAVEN TOO has dated and now seems a poor imitation of A. A. Milne.

The range of fiction for the 8-15 year-olds is as wide as ever. The standard of the best is very high and some of these stories show the degree of imaginative artistry which we now associate with the best writers of books for the young. THE POWERS OF THE SAPPHIRE by Margaret J. Miller (Brockhampton Press, 12s6d), for the 9's and up, is the sequel to THE QUEEN'S MUSIC. With increased skill and confidence the author continues the story of Gavin, Barbara and their tiny friends, Boomer, Lukey and Sprit who set out to find the lost king of Caledon.

Again they find themselves in conflict with Them, the malevolent minikins. The search involves an exciting boat journey to the House of the Lions and introduces Robbie, a character of bardic derivation. The details of the search are minutely convincing and the children's tiny friends are a source of wise humour. The fantasy of this tale is poetic in inspiration and craftsmanlike in execution, as are the illustrations.

Fantasy gives place to homely realism in *HOLIDAY AT THE DEW DROP INN*, written and illustrated by Eve Garnett (*Heinemann, 13s6d*). It brings back the pleasure of *THE FAMILY FROM ONE END STREET* although it lacks the intensity and impact of the first book. Kate goes for a country holiday and experiences all the excitement of village life. The details of the Flower Show, the concert and the fair carry the shadows of the adult preoccupations seen by the child. It is essentially a story about people. The Ruggles children are warm and vital; the adults most convincing when eccentric. I suspect that the younger readers will still be more impressed by the warmth of the kitchen than by the small library at the Priory.

At the other end of this age range we have fiction that lacks nothing in serious artistry. Historical novels most clearly demonstrate some of the highest achievements of the children's author. Of those received, *THE COSSACKS* (*O.U.P., 15s*) is an excellent example of the prevalent standard. First published in 1959 as *Kosaken gegen Kutschum Khan*, B. Bartos-Höppner's book tells of Yermak, the Cossack leader and his campaign against the Tartars in 1579. Mitya, a hunter's son, persuades Yermak to let him join the Cossacks when he is still young. By his exploits Mitya wins his place in the band of seasoned warriors and goes on the great march over the Urals. The campaign is full of hardships, but this seems to bind Mitya all the more to the great cruel land they conquer. The account of the winning of Siberia is masterly; the rich texture of the background details is closely woven with the complex characters of the warriors. Yermak is the dedicated heroic leader, singleminded, all-enduring, statesmanlike. Mitya yearns for the end of brutality and revenge. The story includes evocative and detailed reconstructions of the cities, lands and trade of the Stroganov family. It is written with a powerful masculine flow of episode and incident. A most compelling tale.

Five stories of Old New York, from 1660 to 1780, when it was a small community of farmers and sailors, make up Lavinia R. Davis's *ISLAND CITY*. (*The World's Work, 15s*) The author's family history forms the background of the historical events. The episodes concern early settlers, bargains made with the Indians, pirates on the river and spying in the Revolutionary War. Most interesting is the picture of the growing of the settlement; least convincing is the action of the children who are given adult roles and childish characteristics.

The Franklin Watts fiction award winner for 1961 is Herbert E. Arntson's *ADAM GRAY: STOWAWAY* (*The World's Work, 15s*) a packed and breathless tale of a New York apprentice in 1810 who was stowed away by accident on board the *Tonquin* with its vicious Captain Thorn. The subsequent adventures of this ship and the *New Hazard*, both actual sailing ships, hurtle the story along through an Indian massacre and the China trade. But for all the action, the central character does not develop in depth. The great virtues of seafaring, courage, endurance, comradeship, are lacking. One is aware of a missed opportunity.

K. M. Peyton's *WINDFALL* (*O.U.P. 12s6d*) is a period novel of a different calibre. The life of an Essex fishing family at the end of the last century is portrayed with detailed conviction and penetrating exactness which recalls the realism of Crabbe. The Pullens have fished the Essex coastline for more than fifty years. Tom and his eldest son Matt know that their smack will not last much longer but only a windfall will provide the money for a new one. By saving a man from a sinking ship Matt has enough for the first payment, but before the new boat is his, family tragedy overtakes him. In the difficulties that follow, his assets are his seamanship, which he puts to good use aboard a racing yacht, and his fair dealing, by which he finally outwits the sinister Beckett. Two sailing races and the wreck of a smuggling ship form the climax. Superb descriptions and dialogue, development of character in depth, balance of sailing lore with period awareness, all make this a most distinguished novel for competent readers over eleven.

The setting of B. E. Morgan's *THE HAND OF THE KING* (Harrap, 11s6d) is Mari, near Babylonia at about the time of Abraham. The book is said to be for readers of ten to fourteen, but the melodramatic and undistinguished plot, of how Zimrilim the prince came back to claim his throne from the Assyrians after twenty years of hiding, will not challenge those who enjoy historical novels of subtlety. Zak, the hero, is an undeveloped character and the episodes are curiously banal. Despite the support of much research into the period, the story fails to get off the ground. In both writing and production this book belongs to a past decade of writing for children.

The career novel continues to attract authors who write for adolescents. The selection made from the great number of books about nursing by Helen Hoke called *NURSES, NURSES, NURSES*, (*Chatto & Windus 10s6d*) brings together characteristic episodes on this popular theme. The drama of illness, the romantic approach to suffering obtain a response from adolescent idealism and probably ensure the flow of recruits to the profession. Nevertheless girls should know more about the social conditions of general nursing practice, (these selections are all from American books), and discuss the nature of professional commitment. They may then agree with the character in *The Lamp is Heavy* that the most important thing in a hospital is the incinerator.

ALAN WORKS WITH ATOMS by S. Makepeace-Lott (*Chatto & Windus, 8s6d*) is the latest title in a series of career books for boys. A somewhat daunting opening condenses nuclear theory into a lecture given at an exhibition. Will be understood by those who have some introduction to the theory elsewhere, but those who share the hero's determination to be a nuclear engineer will not be put off. With the same application they should succeed. Study and work are placed squarely in the centre of the picture. The details are vouched for as the author is a senior information officer in the Atomic Energy Authority. For the careers library.

More relevant to the situations in which modern adolescents find themselves are the two following novels. Geoffrey Trease is a master of the telling incident in the lives of the young. His sequel to *THE MAYTHORN STORY* is *CHANGE AT MAYTHORN*, (*Heinemann 13s6d*). Developing adolescent friendships are portrayed with the author's established skill in a book for the large number of

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This course presents solid and valuable junior work in a highly attractive way. It is intended for the consideration of teachers who believe that children come to school to work to the limit of their ability, and that they should enjoy so doing through the provision of interesting work. In each book thirty illustrated prose or verse extracts are all followed by three sets of exercises covering comprehension, language (introducing and revising essential points of grammar) and reference work (encouragingly called 'Find out'). The author, who is headmaster of a large junior school in St. Albans, has had several novels, stories and readers published or broadcast.

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readers who are progressing from children's stories to adult novels. Also in this category is Josephine Kamm's *OUT OF STEP* (Brockhampton Press, 12s6d) This is a more ambitious story of a student from British Guiana who comes to live in a London district where race riots are not unknown. His relationship with a girl trainee in a department store (the career element is also important) is explored with great penetration and understanding. The unease, the kindly meant hypocrisy, family upsets and neighbourhood reactions that result from the initial situation are tactfully and economically done. The book should provoke much discussion amongst schoolgirls and is thoroughly recommended for every secondary school library.

SUSIE'S BABIES by E. Margaret Clarkson (*The World's Work*, 10s6d) is an engaging story about group of children and their teacher who watch a hamster and her young. The purpose of the book is to answer the questions of young children about the facts of reproduction and the publishers intend it for readers between eight and thirteen, but it is likely that those at the younger age should keep hamsters and those at the adolescent stage need more than this. It is doubtful if one can use the analogy of the hamster's mating habits to explain adult sentiments and behaviour. Reaction to this book will be very personal. It will not by itself absolve either parents or teachers from their responsibilities.

DOLL'S DRESSMAKING by Winifred Butler, (O.U.P. 25s) An expertly produced book of patterns and instructions for making more than fifty garments. The whole technique of dressmaking is explained and illustrated so that it is an invaluable book of reference and can be highly commended to those who have to make dolls' clothes or teach needlework. The publishers say that it is for girls of twelve and upwards, but this seems unlikely, as they will probably have abandoned dolls. Training college students and primary school teachers are more likely to be impressed by the clarity of the explanations and the quality of the illustrations.

EXPLORERS AND EXPLORATION (Batsford 15s) by David Scott Daniell. Twelve stories of the great British explorers from the Cabots to the Fuchs Antarctic expedition of 1955-58. The author not only sets out the precise details of the journeys but also quotes from the record documents, so that the reader has a vivid impression of the motives and reactions of the explorers. The voyages of Cabot, Frobisher and White are specially vivid as the source material in Hakluyt contained the inspiration for the book. For all who like adventure stories; (reading age, 10 upwards.)

THE ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER by Mark Twain, (Zodiac Press, 12s6d) A fine new edition of a book that should be part of the reading experience of every boy and girl. Adults need to be reminded of the author's intention 'to pleasantly remind adults of what they once were themselves, how they felt and thought and talked, and what queer enterprises they once engaged in'. But more important, English readers have to come to terms with Huck Finn, the real hero, so that this book is only the beginning of what the author calls 'an entertainment'.

Margaret Meek

N.E.F.

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Book Reviews

The Real St. Trinnean's: C. Fraser Lee
Brown, Ltd., Edinburgh. Price: 10/6

The Real St. Trinnean's has been written primarily for former pupils and other friends of St. Trinnean's, but is of general interest because it is an account of a successful progressive school which existed in Edinburgh under Miss C. Fraser Lee from 1924 to 1947. Trinnean is the Gaelic spelling of Ninian, the saint who first began to convert Scotland to Christianity, and the traditions of the school had a strongly Christian and Scottish flavour.

My first acquaintance with Miss Lee was in 1922, when she became the headmistress of St. Bride's, the school which I attended. I was thirteen at the time, and look back to her as the nicest and most understanding teacher I ever had. She was very human when we were sent to her for doing anything bad. She was a most inspiring and go-ahead scripture teacher, who inspired us with devotion to Christ, helped us to wrestle intelligently with some of the most difficult books in the Bible, and taught us a little comparative religion. According to *The Real St. Trinnean's* she was also in the habit of teaching girls about sex in response to their questions in scripture lessons, but I do not remember this personally.

She divided St. Bride's into houses, and instituted a system of stars for good work and bars for bad conduct, which counted for or against the house and not the individual. (This may seem ordinary now, but was new to us then.) It was a very mild system because a bar could be wiped out either by getting a star, or by being good for a certain length of time and not getting another bar. She had ideas about self-government and gave the prefects more power than was usual then. She made one or two tentative attempts to introduce the Dalton method.

In 1924 she disagreed sharply with the Board of Governors of St. Bride's (a complicated business about which I do not know the whole truth) and went off to found St. Trinnean's, where she worked until her retirement in 1947. She introduced the Dalton method there in full. I knew various girls and mistresses there. It was a very good school of the moderately progressive type. The girls were very happy at it, and Miss Lee was very successful with difficult girls. There is a story of a very rebellious girl who was sent to Miss Lee for some kind of bad conduct. Instead of starting in to scold her as headmistresses usually do, Miss Lee sat her to down to look at a book of pictures until she had cooled off and could discuss what she had done reasonably.

Two of the staff of St. Trinnean's ran a girl's club, and each St. Trinnean's girl was encouraged to adopt one club girl as a 'godsister' with whom she could become personally friendly.

Academically St. Trinnean's was probably somewhat inferior to the very high-pressure schools, but it has contributed its quota to the professions. Former pupils personally known to me have included a psychiatrist, the lady superintendant of nurses at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, a free-lance artist, and the head of the Talbot Settlement, Camberwell.

Jane Darroch

Extracts from Records Illustrating the History of Education in Surrey: Free to Surrey teachers, 5/- per copy to others, from *County Hall, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey*

We are so often just a bit late in waking up to the value of our treasures. Recently there has been a welcome move to preserve school records: old minute and account books of early School Boards, Sunday School records and so on are being rescued and collected for the illumination of our sociologists and educationists and the interest of us all. But, if it is not to be too late, many more people must be rapidly awakened to the value and importance of such records, and so the publication by the Surrey Educational Research Association of *Extracts from Records Illustrating the History of Education in Surrey* is particularly welcome, not only for the intrinsic interest of its contents, but as a spur to other Authorities to do likewise. Some twenty pages of extracts, ranging from 1299 to 1953, have been mimeographed and collected in a loose-leafed folder. The foreword by the Chief Education Officer explains that this format has been chosen to encourage readers to insert further extracts at appropriate places. Two appendices give a brief, clear outline of the History of English Schools and a list of Sources for School Histories.

As one would expect, the extracts illustrate vividly changing social trends in education: the early bequests of pious men, with their avowedly religious aim 'that the seeds of Religion may be sown in the hearts of Children there to grow and bring forth fruit in their lives' (1656); the rules of the National Schools which laid down c. 1840 'No flowers, coloured ribbons in caps, or extremes of fashion allowed.' Especially engaging are the accounts of the Kingston Ragged Schools' Christmas jollifications in 1857, the extracts from the Metrical History of England (c. 1860) and the fuss over Amy Balchin's flounces in 1883. If more counties would search their records, we should understand more vividly the changing attitudes which in each generation have shaped its educational philosophy and, against this background, be able the better to evaluate our own.

M. E. R.

Supervision and Inspection of Primary Schools

D. G. Ball, K. S. Cunningham, W. C. Radford
Australian Council Education Research - 42 s.

In any educated democracy one of the most important questions must be what form the supervisory process should take. Education is a public servant. In this country there is a two-way stretch; one force lies in the need for overall supervision of education of a semi-administrative kind: this is written into the Education Act of 1944. The other force lies in the legitimate aspirations of teachers for a fully self-governing status. At the vortex as it were of both these forces is the inspector.

Supervision and Inspection of Primary Schools is an excellent survey of the work of inspectors in primary schools in Australia. It is written with sincerity, modesty and scholarship, and in an eminently straightforward, pleasing manner. It makes no lavish claims for

the inspector, but brings out clearly the ambivalent nature of his work, in part advisory, in part 'judicial'. Chapter 3 is a masterly summary of the complexity of the inspector's role, but the whole book is full of quotable sentences, such as 'The mature person, with clear educational ideals and defined objectives based on sound scholarship, possessed of imagination, energy and drive and with sympathy and understanding cannot help but attract the loyalty and co-operation of others.'

Much of the information given in the book is based upon replies to questionnaires sent to 18 inspectors: this is perhaps a small sample but it does add greatly to the value of the opinions expressed. By their very nature, inspectors do not fall easily into types, and another merit of this book is that it brings out the different ways in which an inspector may foster educational advance within the broadly defined policy which must be laid down in conjunction with the employing administrative authority: it also shows how much may be achieved by individual inspectors outside that authority. There is no one perfect method of inspecting any more

than there is one perfect method of teaching: so much depends on the particular combination of leadership qualities that an inspector may have.

The first of three valuable appendices deals with the functions of a Superintendent of Schools. The analysis of his responsibilities is first-rate. The other two appendices deal with inspection of schools as it was in 1862 and as it might be in 1965. The latter should not be dismissed as a seemingly superficial account of how an inspector goes about his work. It is full of examples of those incidental suggestions which in themselves might seem minor, but which are in effect so often a grain of mustard seed from which much will grow. It also brings out, as in fact the rest of the book does, that one of the newer roles for inspectors in the future is that of an educational social worker, a harmonizing and co-ordinating force for educational development within whole communities. It is to be hoped that this book will be widely read and re-read not only by inspectors, but also by administrators and teachers.

E. L. Edmunds

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